ENGLISH HUMANITY

NO

PARADOX:

OR,

An Attempt to prove, that the ENGLISH are not a Nation of SAVAGES.

——Hæc, *noſtri* pars optima ſenſûs.

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ERRATUM.

Page 54. *for* "From theſe combined cauſes" *read* "From "the combined cauſes before-mentioned."

It is humbly hoped that the *Good-natured Engliſh Reader*, will excuſe any other trifling inaccuracies.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

READER.

AS Exceptions may poſſibly be made by captious perſons to the words *Engliſh* and *Engliſhmen*, which occur ſo often in the following pages; the Author thinks it neceſſary to premiſe, that he has choſen them, purely in condeſcenſion to the uſage of *Foreigners*, who ſtyle us all "*les Anglois*," without meaning, merely thoſe who *ſpeak Engliſh*; and without diſtinction of Welchmen, Scotchmen, Yorkſhire-men, *&c.* And he is deſirous to have it clearly underſtood between the candid Reader and himſelf, that he means not to offend; for he ſincerely eſteems all *honeſt* fellow-ſubjects, and regards *them* as his *Countrymen*.

It may ſeem not a little extraordinary, that one who is defending the humanity of his Countrymen, ſhould himſelf have committed a ſpecies of cruelty, for which ſome folks may think he deſerves to be called to an account. But, yielding to the temper and uſage of the times (which I hope may be deemed a ſufficient juſtification), I do confeſs, that I have been guilty of diſmembering, or gutting, about half a dozen words in the following diſcourſe, leaving them very little more than their heads to ſtand upon. I am extremely concerned, whenever I ſee poor Syllables emboweled in this unmerciful manner; but I obſerve, that they have been periodically ſubjected to it in this kingdom; ever ſince it was moſt acutely determined, "that a "*Libel*, is not a bit the *leſs falſe*, for it's being "*perfectly true*." And at preſent their ſufferings are carried to ſuch a barbarous exceſs, that every line of Politicks is become a perfect Riddle.

It is a great misfortune, that this ſort of maiming cannot (as I am well aſſured) be judicially brought within the *Coventry Act*; ſo that, if no means are deviſed by the Legiſlature, for giving a check to it, I am not without my fears, that in a little while, even the charming word *Liberty* will be cut down into a ſimple *L——y*. I have the honour to be acquainted with two or three men of profound judgement, who are ſo much ſcandalized

dalized at the practice, that they call it the true *Italic* Brachygraphy; and they make no ſcruple of declaring, that it not only tends to emaſculate the vigour of our Language, but may at length put a final ſtop to the propagation of Letters. I do not indeed ſee any juſt cauſe as yet, for ſuch doleful apprehenſions; for I can hardly ſuppoſe that we are recurring to the faſhion of thoſe days, when it was almoſt a hanging matter for an honeſt Engliſhman to ſet his pen to paper: what unpleaſant times they were to live in, may be conceived from the following anecdote.

Towards the latter part of *James* the Second's reign, a certain inoffenſive Gentleman was apprehended by a State Warrant, and dragged from his peaceable retirement in the Country, on a charge of having written a moſt treaſonable, ſeditious, and ſcandalous *Libel.* This charge was grounded upon the Information of a raſcally attorney, who had picked up a ſcrap of paper, on which were inſcribed the following characters, all of which he proved to be of the ſaid Gentleman's hand-writing, *viz.*

S. P. Q. R.

The ingenuity of the Informant (who wanted to diſplay his zeal and loyalty towards the ruling Powers) ſupplied the *blanks* and *innuendos* in this manner:

The *S.* ſaid he, evidently means *Salus*. There can be no diſpute but the *P.* ſtands for *Populi*, and that *Q.* intends *Quærenda*. Then, as for the *R.* it muſt clearly import, either *Repugnatione*, or *Rebellione*, or *Revolutione*; or rather, all three; ſo that, taking the whole together, the plain Engliſh is, that, "The Safety of the People (*to wit* of "*England*) muſt be obtained by a Reſiſtance, "*alias* a Rebellion, *alias* a Revolution; *to wit*, "againſt the peace of our Liege Sovereign, his "Crown and Dignity."

The *Jacobite* Lord, to whom this information had been carried, acknowledged that the conſtruction was, in appearance, very plauſible; nay, it was exceedingly probable; but, for greater certainty in ſo momentous a buſineſs, he ſummoned a *junto* of five *Romiſh Prieſts*, the moſt noted for their ſkill in decyphering; who were deſired to conſider the writing, and deliver, ſeparately, their opinions, of the *Purport* and *Tenor*, with all convenient ſpeed. This was accordingly complied with: When, the firſt expounded it thus,

Serviat Papæ Quiſquis Regum.

"Let every King be ſubject to the *Pope*."

Salus

2d.

Solus Pontifex Quæſtor Regum.

"The *holy father* is ſole judge of temporal ſovereigns."

3d.

Sanguine Preſbyterianorum Quieſcat Rex.

"By deſtroying the *Preſbyterians* the King may "enjoy tranquillity."

4th.

Strage Principis Quæritur Reſpublica.

"It is intended to kill the king, and form a *republic.*"

5th.

Scindite Principem Quirites Romanum.

"Citizens, cut off your *Romiſh* Prince."

Upon comparing theſe ſolutions, the variance puzzled every one preſent, and occaſioned a very hot debate; each Decypherer contending for the exactneſs of his art, and ſupporting his opinion with a great deal of learned argument. After much time ineffectually ſpent in trying to reconcile theſe different explanations, the accuſed party was brought before them; when the paper being ſhewn him, together with the ſeveral modes in which the blanks were filled up, that he might point out which was the right meaning? He replied,

plied, "that he believed they were every one "wrong;" and, gravely throwing an old ruſty Roman medal upon the table, "There, ſays he, "is the *original*, which may ſpeak for itſelf. As "to my own part, I take the *Legend* to be nothing "more than the common one, of

"*Senatus Populus Que Romanus.*"

His catholic Lordſhip ſmiled; the loyal informer bluſhed for the firſt time in his life; the junto of prieſts were ſtruck dumb; and it is needleſs perhaps to add, that both the information and the priſoner were immediately diſcharged.

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NO

PARADOX.

IT is the wiſh of every good Engliſhman to acquire a praiſe-worthy Character, and preſerve it when acquired. If no conſideration ſhould lead him to this for his own ſake, a ſenſe of Duty and Reverence towards the Public would be a powerful incentive. The Characters of individuals compoſe, in the aggregate, the character of the whole Society, or give the *Ton* to it. Every good member of it will therefore, and for this reaſon, if there were no others, ſtudiouſly apply himſelf to the diſcharge of thoſe moral and ſocial obligations which Nature herſelf has written on his heart.

Almoſt inexcuſable is the error of thoſe men who dogmatically pronounce upon the Character of a nation, from no other Criterion than the meaſures of its Sovereign. Moral principles are

not always the ground-work of that fine-ſpun Syſtem by which Princes govern. Ambition, Arrogance, Revenge, Intrigue, more frequently intermix with, and lend the tincture to their Politics, who look for no better merit in Subjects, than a beſtial and implicit Obedience. That commendable Pride, which impreſſes a virtuous, patriotic Citizen with nice ſenſibility as to any thing that may darken his Character, is not reſtricted to himſelf alone. He reſents the wounded fame of his friend, or his country. Every imputation juſtly thrown upon his country afflicts him with pain and ſhame; as every juſt eulogy paſſed on it, affords him unſpeakable delight. All thoſe worthy individuals therefore which compoſe a Society, being ſo much concerned in the *National Character*, I may be allowed to ſay, it is my right as an Engliſhman, to examine into ſome parts of this character. To enquire, for example, whether we have well-founded pretenſions to the reputation of being *an humane people?* or, whether we are that blood-thirſty race of beings which Foreigners in general have aſſerted? Though very unequal to the taſk, yet I hope the uneaſineſs I feel at the indignity my Countrymen ſuffer from thoſe exotic invectives, will be thought to apologize in ſome degree for my undertaking it; more eſpecially as I conſider it a duty incumbent upon every friend of his Country to ſtand forth, and vindicate it in the beſt manner he is able, from aſperſions that come unſupported by facts.

Our claim to *manly valour* has been ſo often experimentally proved and allowed, by the neighbouring States, that it is needleſs to inſiſt upon it much further, than as it ſerves to militate againſt their allegations of our Cruelty, which ſeems utterly incompatible with true heroiſm. The Argument, indeed, might be almoſt left to reſt upon this inconſiſtence; which would be deciſive with ſome judgements; yet, an attention may be thought due to the opinions of two or three Men of genius and learning; *vague opinions!* but which have many blind followers. I flatter myſelf, by fair inveſtigation it will be manifeſt, that ſuch reflections have not been formed, upon a cloſe and intuitive knowledge of the Engliſh people; but rather upon partial, ſhallow, and very unſatisfactory grounds. In the courſe of analyſing their ſentiments, I ſhall offer a few propoſitions; calculated to fix a juſt line of diſtinction, "between "actions, declaring ſo evidently the Temper of "the People, that it cannot be miſtaken; and "actions committed without their full conſent "and participation; and for which therefore "they ought on no terms to be held reſpon-"ſible."

I take for granted, that *Government* is anſwerable for all diſgraceful Acts which are done by its own contrivance and poſitive command, though iſſued under a pretended acquieſcence of the whole people.

Is it a Queſtion whether, in a *free State*, abſolute, unconditional obedience ought to be paid to every ſuch poſitive commmand?

It may be replied, that miniſters have ſometimes been magnanimous enough, to reject the being made inſtruments of ſanguinary mandates, which their conſcience revolted againſt, or their high ſenſe of *perſonal* or *national honour* diſdained. This has happened in a ſtate *not* free. In the example of that gallant French Officer *Crillon*, Colonel of the Guards, who having the ſpirit to prefer his own diſcretion at any hazard, refuſed peremptorily to execute his Sovereign's order, for the murder of the *Duke of Guiſe* *.

We meet with ſimilar examples in the ſame kingdom even prior to this. The fatal *maſſacre of the proteſtants* on the eve of *St. Bartholomew*, in the year 1570, is known to every one. "At this time (ſays the French hiſtorian) they (that is, the Courtiers) *gloried* in adopting *Machiavel's maxims*. Other princes had been oppreſſive, weak, and iniquitous; but *Charles* IX was the *firſt* King *who ever conſpired againſt his own ſubjects*; and his plot was laid with as deep Diſſimulation as the action itſelf was horrible. *Sixty thouſand proteſtants* were aſſaſſinated in different parts of his dominions, but chiefly at Paris, where the Royal Butcher diverted himſelf, with firing

* *Crillon* rejected this requiſition of Henry III. with diſdain, telling the King, "that he was a *Gentleman*, "and not an *Executioner*."

from

from a window upon the unhappy wretches, who were flying for their lives. The Orders of the Court were poſitive, for the ſame general havoc in every Province; but ſeveral of the provincial Commandants, nobly refuſed Obedience, and wrote to their Tyrant, "that they were willing to "die for his Service, *but would not conſent to* "*murder any one for him.*" Theſe precedents are ſufficiently expreſſive, to determine an honeſt Officer of the Crown, in any Country, what part he ought to take upon ſuch trying occaſions. The queſtion indeed with them was no more than ſimply this, "Whether they ought to obey "the voice of God and Nature? or, the ravings "of a madman?"

Kings have ſometimes thanked their miniſter for ſo friendly an oppoſition to their will; when compliance would have covered both of them with ignominy.

Of all the monarchs who have governed France, there is not one who makes ſo amiable a Figure as *Henry the Fourth*; it is certain, that he was *great*, whether we conſider him as a Man, a Hero, or a Sovereign. Yet he had Paſſions and Foibles, too dangerous to be indulged; nothing held them within bounds, but the continual admonition of his faithful Miniſter the *Duke de Sully*, and his own ſound underſtanding, which enabled him at once to diſcern its rectitude, and diſpoſed him to comply with it. Indeed, before his attainment to the Throne, he had given many

proofs of poſſeſſing a certain firmneſs of humanity, which nothing could ſhake. During the civil war which raged ſo long between the Popiſh Leaguers and the Proteſtants, and in the very heat of action againſt the army commanded by the Duke of *Mayenne*, he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, in ſhewing mercy to thoſe, whoſe Leaders, would have ſhewn him none. He rode through the Ranks, inceſſantly crying out, "*Spare the* "*lives of Frenchmen*," whilſt his victorious Troops were purſuing their vanquiſhed Enemies.

When afterwards he blockaded *Paris*, where the Prieſts were making continual proceſſions, clad in armour, with a muſquet in one hand and a crucifix in the other, to animate the Citizens againſt him, it was paſt a doubt, that he might very ſoon have reduced it by famine. But his compaſſion for two hundred and twenty thouſand inhabitants then immured in the City, overruled every other conſideration. He encouraged his own Soldiers to ſupply the Citizens, by ſtealth, with proviſions. In vain did his Generals iſſue orders, *upon pain of Death*, not to relieve any of the beſieged. He cancelled theſe Orders effectually, by rewarding, inſtead of hanging, the very delinquents who had been caught in the fact of diſobeying them. From this, and many other inſtances which might be given of his conduct, we may deduce, that when a nation is ſo fortunate as to have a Man of Senſe, Spirit, and Integrity, for its Sovereign; not only the Character

of

of ſuch a nation is entirely ſafe, but receives a new luſtre from the radiance of his. It is very evident from the hiſtory of his unworthy Son and Succeſſor, that the virtues of a Parent do not always deſcend to his Poſterity.

Louis the XIIIth, the very reverſe of his Father, was cruel, and weak. At the time, when by the pernicious counſels of his *favourite Luines*, and other miniſters equally wicked, he was preparing to reduce his Proteſtant Subjects by force of arms, *Du Pleſſis Mornay* addreſſed him in theſe Terms: "A King, (ſaid this good old Counſellor) *who makes war upon his own Subjects*, demonſtrates his own weakneſs. Authority conſiſts in the peaceable Obedience of the People; and *that* is eſtabliſhed, by the *prudence* and *juſtice* of him who governs. The force of arms, is only to be employed againſt a Foreign Enemy. The *late King* would have ſent theſe *new miniſters of ſtate* back to ſchool, *to learn the elements of Politics*; who, like ignorant Surgeons, could propoſe no other remedies, but cauſtics and amputations; or had dared to adviſe him, *to cut off the diſeaſed limb, with that which was ſound.*"

Lewis, from an imbecillity of mind, which rendered him unable to comprehend the juſtneſs of this ſolid reaſoning, was induced to diſregard it. He purſued his plan of Folly, at the riſque of loſing a great part of his Dominions. His reign was one continued ſcene of diſquietude. But, in return, he was extolled for his piety, by

thoſe Eccleſiaſtics who had murthered his Father for imputed Hereſy.

Cowards are cruel from ſuſpicion. They hate whom they dread; and they wiſh to deſtroy whom they hate. But although they are invariably cruel, yet cruelty does not always originate from cowardice when it ſtains the hands of *men in power*, whether Kings or Prelates. For exerciſed by theſe men, it has not unfrequently proceeded from the * *Machiavelian policy* of Ambition; which directs its aim to the uſurpation of ſtill more power and pre-eminence, and to enjoy them without the interference of a Rival, or the vengeance of a Foe.

Chiefly with this view, *King-craft* and *Prieſt-craft* joining their forces, long held moſt parts of the World under their Subjection; the former, endeavouring to enſlave the Bodies; the latter, the minds of mankind. So that it is ſtill a doubt, whether the ambition of Princes, or of bigotted Churchmen, has cauſed the greater effuſion of human blood; but, certain it is, that in all ages, from the firſt eſtabliſhment of Monarchies and Hierarchies, they have ſeemed to make the two-edged ſword, which has put to death myriads of human beings, and polluted every civilized region

* I beg *Doctor H—n* ten thouſand pardons, for making ſo free with a Phraſe, for which I preſume he means to obtain an excluſive *patent*. But he is welcome hereafter to keep it entirely to himſelf, as I hope to have no further uſe for it.

of

of the globe with innumerable Victims. Had *James Stuart* the Second gained over the Biſhops and Clergy to reſettle Popery upon a ſecure foundation; who doubts, but the promiſes of temporal recompence from the Crown, on one hand; and of Abſolutions, Indulgencies, and Heaven, from the Church on the other, might have ſtirred up every Jacobitical adherent to cut the throats of all the Whigs and Proteſtants in the Kingdom? Nor ſhould we now enjoy, as we do, the mild, the pious, and pacific virtues of the *Brunſwic line*. Still let me contend, that the Engliſh in every age, unleſs when acted upon by ſtate-machines, have ſhewn moſt authentic credentials of their poſſeſſing a natural, open, and generous valour, united with a placable diſpoſition towards their enemy; for as a ſuitable companion to true courage, we aſſert our being gifted with *Good-humour*; a quality which, foreign languages, it is ſaid, have no word to expreſs; and I own it even difficult for *us* to explain what we mean by it, as it is beſt expreſſed by *actions*, not by words; for, whereas a Frenchman overwhelms us with offers of ſervice that he has not the leaſt idea of ever performing; my Countrymen, on the other hand, are ever more alert in performing than in promiſing. This diſpoſition is altogether a ſtranger to Hypocriſy; it is a ſudden emotion, proceeding from genuine ſincerity, and innate benevolence, and is wholly irreconcileable with cruelty. Whether I may have given an allowable definition or not, we

are every day witneſſes of our enjoying this ſocial quality. In many among us, it predominates to ſuch an extreme as to render them dupes of their own unſuſpicious credulity. Among ſtrangers, it ſubjects them to the imputation of weakneſs and folly; and ſurrenders their perſons and their pockets to the free diſpoſal of every inſidious impoſtor. They who have travelled much abroad, and by experience, or tuition, learnt the practice and utility of Diſſimulation (ſo much extolled by *Lord Cheſterfield* as a firſt ſtep towards gaining what is called *Knowledge of the World*) endeavour to diſcard this quality as faſt as poſſible, and ſubſtitute in the room of it a frothy, ſpurious, unmeaning, civility; whoſe perfection conſiſts in *gracefully* playing upon every perſon they converſe with. Superadded to theſe qualities of *valour*, *humanity*, and *good-humour*, we own a paſſionate *love* of *our Country*; not, an attachment to the *ſoil of England* merely, but to *that free* and *admirable Conſtitution* tranſmitted to us by our forefathers *wherever it be planted and flouriſhing*; under whoſe auſpices we are ſenſible of our capacity to taſte a more perfect ſyſtem of happineſs than we can expect to meet with on any other ſpot of the earth, where that conſtitution does not exiſt. Thus circumſtanced, we actually ſtand one of the firſt in rank among the various nations of the globe, maintaining our right to wear thoſe diſtinctions, which exalt every man who is maſter of himſelf, above the groveling brute ſpecies; or

above

above ſuch of the human as have been metamorphoſed by oppreſſion into paſſive beaſts of burthen. The ſpirit, or pride of Independance, which is congenial with a due ſenſe of freedom, makes us exceſſively jealous of this *vantage ground*; inſomuch that we cannot patiently endure attempts from any quarter, to abridge our conſtitutional patrimony, or impeach our claim to thoſe ſplendid attributes of mind which eſtabliſh the magnificence of our national character. Every true Engliſhman would be the willing champion to aſſert this honourable pre-eminence; or, if neceſſary, die the willing martyr to ſupport it. Whoever among us would ſurrender or betray it, muſt be a Traitor (equally mean and wicked) to the *majeſty* of his Country. But it is not neceſſary, that our zeal ſhould hurry us, on *every* occaſion, to the extreme of Martyrdom. We need not tilt with a Frenchman, to convince him of our humanity, when we may better refute his ſcruples, by ſhewing him what we really are, and how widely he has miſunderſtood our true character. Were it poſſible for the body of the people to be the ſole keepers and guardians of national character, no ſuch ſcepticiſms could ariſe: But of this, as of other public hereditary jewels, our anceſtors delegated the truſt into the hands of men, who, they hoped, would never make an improper uſe of ſuch confidence. There are two poſitions which appear incontrovertible. The firſt, That there is no ſuch thing as forming a

right

right judgement on the character of any Body, or Society, of People, without a competent reſidence among them. The ſecond, That the opinion which foreigners have generally conceived of the Engliſh character, has not been founded, upon a local and ſufficiently intrinſical knowledge of the people; but upon flimſy circumſtances; and upon the public meaſures of the executive part of the Engliſh Government.

Hence it will naturally follow, that we have not been conſidered in that advantageous light, which we really deſerve.

To begin with one of the greateſt Geniuſes in the republic of letters, Mr. *Voltaire*, he is pleaſed to ſtyle us, "*the Savages of Europe.*" If this appellation be unwarrantable by any thing he has diſcovered in us, it will certainly reflect more diſhonour upon the author of it, than upon the Engliſh. To alledge ſuch a charge without proof, muſt, with any unprejudiced opinion, ſhew him, in this inſtance, as deficient in *humanity* himſelf, as in good-manners and veracity. No proof whatever appears in the courſe of his voluminous writings, as far as I have been able to find, that will buoy up this charge. On the contrary, after giving an account of the battle of *Dettingen*, he obſerves that, "the *French* and *Engliſh during the whole war, behaved to each other with civility and reſpect:* while the Hungarians ſhewed nothing but a ſpirit of rapine and barbarity."—"The two Generals (continues he) wrote letters to each other,

other, that evidently ſhew to what height politeneſs and humanity may be carried, amidſt all the horrors of war." "Nor was this *greatneſs of ſoul* peculiar to the *Earl of Stair* and the *Duke de Noailles*. There was a *generous action* of the *Duke of Cumberland's* which *ſurpaſſed* every other: A French Muſqueteer, dangerouſly wounded, was brought near his Highneſs's Tent. Surgeons were much wanting. They were now going to dreſs the Duke's leg, which had been wounded by grape-ſhot. *Begin* (ſaid he nobly) *with that French Officer; for he is more dangerouſly hurt than I am, and ſtands in need of more immediate help.*" This quotation from his own writings, is ſufficient to convict him of having let fly an unjuſt and precipitate cenſure. It is true, that here and there, in other compoſitions of his, he takes occaſion to give us an oblique ſlap. Thus, in his *Candide*, he brings his hero to Portſmouth at the critical moment of Mr. Byng's execution. "A dozen or two "of ſoldiers are ſeen very deliberately firing their "balls into the head of that unfortunate Engliſh "officer; after which ceremony, the ſpectators "walk away, *perfectly well ſatisfied.*" *Candide* enquiring into the cauſe of all this, receives for anſwer, "that the delinquent had been found "*guilty of not ſhedding as much human blood* as it "*was judged his duty to have done*; and that it "was quite neceſſary to ſhoot an admiral now and "then, in order to make other admirals fight the "better." This may be a ſample of Mr. Voltaire's

taire's pleaſantry; but at beſt, it is only inſinuating his notions upon a dubious caſe, which divided the ſentiments of Mr. Byng's countrymen. The execution of Mr. *Lally*, in *France*, might, by way of retort, be as proper a ſubject of Engliſh ſatire.* All this, however, proves nothing on the ſide of his accuſation, which has no other ſource, I am apt to think, than a little ſpice of *envy*. His criticiſms upon *Shakeſpear* are thrown out with a degree of acrimony that can only ſpring from ſuch a malignant ſource. § It is confeſſed, there may be ſome ſcenes in the Tragedies of this our divine Bard, which do not conſiſt with the chaſter rules of the Drama, nor are adapted to the refinements of modern taſte, however excuſable they might have been, in that infant æra of our poetry, when firſt uſhered upon the Theatre. It would be impoſſible for an Engliſh audience now to ſit with any patience at the Repreſentation of his *Lear*, in its original ſtate, and ſee the flinty-hearted *Cornwall treading out the eyes* of *Gloceſter*. But it agreed with the Taſte of dramatic writing

* "He had been accuſed of *high treaſon* and *extortion*. "Of the firſt he was *acquitted*; and the *ſecond* was *never* "*proved*. Yet, *Lally* was condemned to *loſe his head*."

Abbé Reynal's Ph. and Pol. hiſt.

§ "The Tragedy of *Hamlet* is a groſs and barbarous "piece, and would never be borne by the loweſt of the "rabble in France or Italy. One would think, the *whole* "of it was the product of the imagination of *a drunken* "*Savage*."

Voltaire Diſc. on Tragedy.

in

in that age, that the ruder ſenſes of our anceſtors might be touched with an actual proſpect before them, of things, which the delicate nerves of their poſterity can ſcarcely bear the recital of. Shakeſpear, from his knowledge of human nature, (*not from ſterility of Genius*) preferred action to narrative wherever he meant to move the ſprings of paſſion with unuſual vehemence. To ſee a mutilation, or a murder inflicted, muſt ſurely affect us with far greater horror than to hear the moſt animated deſcription of them. The crimes therefore of his guilty characters, and which he meant to render ſtrikingly hideous, impreſſed his audience with the utmoſt deteſtation the machinery of his Drama could poſſibly excite. Thus, the poetic deſign, of agitating the paſſions in the moſt ſenſible degree; and the moral purpoſe, of diſplaying vice in all its naked frightfulneſs, were ſuppoſed to be compleatly anſwered, by theſe unſhadowed ſpectacles.

It is candid at leaſt to admit, that our anceſtors who tolerated ſuch bloody ſhews upon their ſtage, were hurried by the Poet's mechaniſm, to feel all the alternate conflicts which he intended to produce; their ſouls now harrowed up and impaſſioned with the barbarity of a murderer; now torn with woe, or melted with pity, for the hapleſs fate of expiring virtue.

It were but juſtice to our immortal Shakeſpear to remark, that ſcenes of this nature are cautiouſly accompanied by reflections of abhorrence at the inhumanity

inhumanity of the deed; as if he would leave us no doubts of his reaſon for introducing it to view. So, in the ſcene I alluded to, the wickedneſs of *Cornwall's* action is, with the greateſt propriety, reprobated by *Gloceſter's* Servants; by which means, the cruelty appears more glaring and atrocious, when it is made to affect men of the loweſt ſtation ſo powerfully. I ſhall not deny, that with the ſame drift of ſhaking the ſenſes more impetuouſly, many others of our Tragic compoſers have ſtrewed their ſcenes with carnage; nor indeed have we wanted Critics of our own to level their wit at this practice, when indulged to exceſs. The *Rehearſal* lays a whole army of ſlain ſoldiers before the eyes of the audience. And Fielding's *Chrononhothontologos* mows down every character in the piece. But, without either burleſquing or abſolutely rejecting this ſcenery, let us pay ſome reſpect to the leſſon, which *Horace* (not the leaſt correct and judicious of Critics) has laid down, applicable to this ſubject, as approved by the faſtidious taſte of a Roman audience in the poliſht age of *Auguſtus*.

Segnius irritant animos demiſſa *per aurem*,
Quam quæ ſunt *oculis ſubjecta fidelibus*; & quæ
Ipſe ſibi tradit Spectator. Non tamen, intus
Digna geri, promes in Scenam; *multaque* tolles
Ex oculis, quæ mox narret facundia præſens.
Ne *Pueros* coram populo *Medea trucidet*.

De Art. Poet.

The

The buſineſs of the Drama muſt appear
In action or deſcription. What we *hear*,
With weaker paſſion will affect the heart,
Than when the faithful *eye beholds* the part.
But let no deed upon the ſtage be brought,
Which *better* ſhould behind the ſcenes be
wrought.
Nor force th' unwilling audience to behold
What may with grace and eloquence be told.
Let not *Medea*, with unnatural rage,
Slaughter her *mangled infants on the Stage.*

FRANCIS.

Mr. *Francis* obſerves upon this paſſage, "that "it is doubtful whether Horace meant to con- "demn *all kinds* of killing on the Stage."—Methinks, from the very example Horace gives (to illuſtrate his rule) of a mother's butchering her infant-children; it ſhould rather ſeem very clear, that he only means to object againſt ſuch monſtrous murders, or helliſh feats of cruelty, as are too excruciating for human eyes to endure.

Dacier aſſerts, that none but thoſe miſerable Poets, who *want Genius* to move an audience by narrative, ever intruded theſe bloody ſpectacles.

And *Sanadon* adds, that *Sports*, where human blood is ſhed, can be *pleaſing* only to a *Savage*, *cruel* people, who have *loſt all ſenſe of humanity*.

We agree with Mr. Sanadon, that they can give *pleaſure* only to ſuch a people as he deſcribes; but to elicit *pleaſure* is not the motive

for expoſing them to view; declamaotry Remarks, like theſe, are too unqualified to be pertinent. We do not contend for the propriety of exhibiting theſe dreadful Spectacles too often, and diſguſtingly upon the Theatre. It is meant only to inſiſt, that the introduction of them by Shakeſpear, however faulty according to the ſqueamiſh Taſte which now prevails, is no evidence, that the Spectators in his time, "*grinned horrible with* "*ghaſtly ſmiles*," at ſuch repreſentations of bloodſhed; nor that they reliſhed them any further, than as the high-wrought ſcene left more durable impreſſions on their mind, conducive to their love of liberty and virtue, their deteſtation of Tyranny and vice, and their ſympathetic affliction for human miſeries.

Hiſtory preſents us with a remarkable inſtance; where this double appeal to the ſenſes worked a far ſtronger and more inſtant ſway than was in the power of ſimple *narrative:* I mean, *Mark Anthony's* harangue to the Roman common-people, juſt after *Cæſar's* aſſaſſination. His bringing the mangled body before their view has been eſteemed a moſt maſterly ſtroke. It ſhews, he foreknew with what efficacy the ſight of it would aid his diſcourſe. The conſequences which this well-imagined aſſociation actually did produce, will appear from a paſſage in Shakeſpear's *Julius Cæſar*, of which I ſhall trouble the Reader with a few ſhort extracts, as it is pretty cloſely taken from the beſt hiſtory of this event.

Anthony

* *Anthony.* } - - - - - -
- - - - - -

Kind Souls! what! weep you, when you but behold
Our *Cæſar's* Veſture wounded?—*Look you here!*
Here is *himſelf, marred,* as you *ſee,* by Traitors.

1 *Pleb.* O Piteous Spectacle!

2 *Pleb.* O noble Cæſar!

4 *Pleb.* O Traitors! Villains!

1 *Pleb.* O moſt bloody ſight!

2 *Pleb.* We will be revenged!—revenge—about—ſeek—burn—fire—kill—ſlay! *&c.*

Anth. } - - - - - - -
- - - - - - -
- - - - - - -

— I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth;
Action, nor utterance; nor the power of ſpeech
To ſtir man's blood. I only ſpeak right on.
- - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - -
Shew you ſweet Cæſar's *wounds, poor, poor, dumb mouths!*
And bid *them ſpeak for me.* But, were I Brutus,

* *Mr. Voltaire,* ſpeaking of this Play, calls it a Work replete with *barbarous* irregularities. "The *French,* ſays "he, would never ſuffer on *their* Stage, a *Chorus* compoſed "of Roman Artiſans and Plebeians; nor permit the *bleeding* "*body* of *Cæſar to be expoſed in publick.*" But, adds he, "it was written in an *Age of Ignorance,* and by *a man* who "did not *even underſtand Latin.*"

And Brutus Anthony—there were an Anthony
Would ruffle up your ſpirits, and *put a tongue*
In *every wound* of Cæſar, *that ſhould move*
The ſtones of Rome to riſe, and mutiny!
All. We'll mutiny!
1 *Pleb.* We'll burn the houſe of Brutus! *&c.*

It is impoſſible, I think, to read this Paſſage, without admiring the ſkill of the Poet, in the addreſs of Anthony. Shakeſpear ſcarcely adds any thing to the hiſtorical account we have of this celebrated ſpeech; he brings few allies from the fruitfulneſs of his own invention to embelliſh plain and natural incidents. One obſervation applies more particularly to the point, and opens to us more viſibly the mechaniſm of the ſcene. Anthony has ſpent near a hundred lines of his Oration in extolling the merits of Cæſar; in depreciating thoſe of the Conſpirators; and in reciting the will he made in favour of the people; he proceeds with holding up the Emperor's robe, pierced through with many a dagger, and reeking with blood; he even goes on, to deſcant on the murder, and *deſcribes it* with all its horrible circumſtances. Hitherto, he has been able to ſtir the paſſions of his audience no further, than to the ſhedding a few tears of pity; but no ſooner are their looks and their ſenſations directed to the *corpſe itſelf*, by a ſhort addreſs, contained in leſs than two lines, than the whole audience are in uproar; and nothing is heard, but revenge, fire, and ſlaughter. Here Anthony gains his purpoſe.

This

This is the pitch to which the artful Orator wants to inflame them; and for this end is the murthered body introduced to their ſight.

For my own part, who have always perceived myſelf a partner in the obvious diſtreſſes of my fellow-creatures, I can truly atteſt, it is not from brutality of temper, nor a fondneſs of bloodſhed, that I can bear with a degree of rapture to ſee poetic juſtice ſtrictly done, and behold a Tyrant fall. When *Cato* bleeds, I lament his ineffectual efforts to preſerve the liberties of his Country; yet am not diſpleaſed, that he eſcapes the Uſurper's chain, and dies in full poſſeſſion of his own freedom. A virtuous character ſuffers before my eyes; I ſuffer with it, yet wait impatiently for the gratification, of ſeeing Vengeance executed upon the Oppreſſor. Many others, I ſuppoſe, are affected in the like manner; and I venture to believe, that were our Scenes to be entirely ſtript of this bold imagery, which applies ſo directly to the heart, they might, it is true, come nearer to Mr. *Voltaire's* frigid ſtandard of Dramatic excellence, but they might alſo ceaſe to rouze our ſenſibility, or move our manlieſt affections with equal pathos and ſucceſs. The people of different countries are, by habit, education, and other cauſes, variouſly acted upon by one and the ſame principle. A coarſe or delicate ſtructure of the organs of ſenſation requires different modes of gratification. The French Tragedy perhaps would be very inſipid to the *guſto* of an Engliſh audience. The muſic that delights them is harſh and into-

lerable to an Engliſh ear. The Highlander may tell me, that "when the bag-pipe ſings i'th' noſe, "*he* can't contain his urine *for affection.*" I, perhaps, might liſten with full as much pleaſure to the ſqueak and gruntle of a "gaping pig." Let each then continue to be amuſed with that which is beſt accommodated to his taſte, without entering into invidious compariſons, or weakening his pretenſions by the vulgarity of national abuſe; and let us fairly acknowledge, that no late writer has laboured more than Mr. *Voltaire* has done in the cauſe of humanity. His zealous warmth in behalf of the perſecuted *Calas* family, his ſtrictures upon the Inquiſitorial Butchers of Spain and Portugal, his unanſwerable defence of Toleration, are ſo many teſtimonials of his enlarged and liberal way of thinking. His inveterate hatred of cruelty in any ſhape may ſometimes, perhaps, have diſpoſed him to attack even the ſhadow of it, on the fainteſt ſuſpicion of its exiſtence; but mankind are bound to praiſe and to thank him, as a ſtrenuous Advocate for their enjoying thoſe firſt gifts of the Deity, Freedom and Happineſs; for he who employs his great abilities to a contrary end, the diſſemination of ſlaviſh Principles, (as ſome penſioned writers among *us*, I am ſorry to ſay, have done) is of all men the moſt nefarious and deteſtable.

There is another ingenious foreigner, Mr. *Rouſſeau*, who is equally ſevere upon us. He too has indicted us for *Cruelty*, but then he is civil enough to give us the reaſons upon which this accuſation is built.

Speaking

Speaking (in his *Emilius*) of the different effects ſuppoſed to be produced on the Diſpoſition and Character, by Animal and Vegetable foods, he ſays, "It is ſufficiently clear from experience, that thoſe people, who are *great eaters of meat*, are, in general, more ferocious and *cruel* than other men. This obſervation holds good *in all times, and all places.* The *Engliſh Barbarity* is *well* known; whereas the *Gaures* are, on the contrary, the meekeſt creatures in the world. *All Savages* are cruel; and as their *manners* do not tend to cruelty, it *is plain* it *muſt ariſe* from their *aliment.*" "I know (he adds in a note) the *Engliſh* boaſt much of their humanity, and of the good diſpoſition of their nation; that they call themſelves a *good-natured* people. They may cry themſelves up, however, as much as they pleaſe, there is *nobody elſe will join with them.*"

Thus Mr. *Rouſſeau* not only arraigns us in plain terms of being a *cruel* and *ſavage people*, but, by phyſical cauſes, would demonſtrate, that we cannot poſſibly be otherwiſe, unleſs we conſent to part with our beloved *Beef.* His argument ſeems, notwithſtanding, to imply ſo much in our favour, that this cruelty does not derive from any thing faulty *in grain*, but ſprouts up from the meer nature of our animal *pabulum*; whence it ſhould follow, that, in proportion to the quantity of *vegetable aliment* we jumble with our meals, we may reaſonably expect to become more civilized, or leſs ſavage. If ſo, and his premiſſes be allowed,

I ſhall be heartily glad to ſee a ſpeedy reformation take place in this reſpect, eſpecially at the tables of our Miniſters and other Stateſmen, Judges, Jurymen, and all civil Magiſtrates, *if there be any occaſion for it:* But I am credibly informed, that moſt of our great men are already *granivorous*; that a conſtant Regimen of white meats, vegetables, and puddings, is found indiſpenſibly neceſſary for every man in high office, that the faculties may at all times be kept clear, cool, and undiſturbed by groſs fumes; and, further, that it would be as much as their reputation is worth, to meddle with Rumps and Buttocks of *Beef*, which are therefore wiſely baniſhed from every polite table. Every one knows how wonderfully altered we are for the better ſince the days of Queen *Beſs*, whoſe Maids of honour uſed to breakfaſt upon filthy *ſteakes*. Praiſe be to Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate; we are at preſent quite a different ſort of people. A friend, indeed, who is in the *oppoſition*, aſſures me upon his veracity, that Lord *M*——, Lord *B*——, Lord *S*——, and half a dozen more Lords on the other ſide, are ſome of the moſt notorious *conſumers of fleſh* this kingdom has ſeen for theſe 100 years paſt. I fear there may be a little of the leaven of Party in this ſarcaſm, and ſhall therefore waive the objection it contains. I am told likewiſe, by another friend, who is member of the *Antediluvian* club, that our richer Clergy, Gentry, and Farmers, are a very *carnivorous* ſort of folks, and to be ranked among the

the moſt eminent Gormands of Butchers' meat, and Veniſon; as for *Turtle*, it is neither fiſh nor fleſh, but a ſomewhat between both, and therefore to be held and taken as a diet from which Mr. *Rouſſeau* has not excommunicated us. Nor are the Londoners in particular, according to report, leſs addicted to the Slaughter of quadrupedes and poultry, than the ſeveral Orders before enumerated. Notwithſtanding all which, the Aldermen and Liverymen, as well as the Trained Bands, (including the *Lumber Troop*) are reputed to be a peaceable, Lamb-like generation, without any propenſity to ſhed *human* blood. It is difficult to diſcover the exact number of Cattle, Sheep, and Swine, devoured yearly by our Metropolis; ſince, excluſive of the different victualling-offices, and merchantmen, and a large export of ſalted meat, it is a Fact, that, within the circuit of twenty miles, or thereabouts, round London, the Country Butchers for the moſt part ſupply their Shops with Carcaſſes from thence. Any foreigner, however, who conſiders that the Inhabitants amount to near a million, will believe, that at a very penurious allowance, a few ounces of fleſh-meat to each perſon muſt demand a very large daily Slaughter of thoſe animals; and the ſame foreigner, if he ſhould ſpeculate along the Environs, will diſcover ſuch a vaſt Tract of ground, in the whole, applied to the culture of Vegetable eſculents of all ſorts, to furniſh the craving appetites of the citizens, over and above the many cart-loads, and boat-loads, which

which they daily receive by land or water carriage from various parts of the Country, that he will begin to ſuſpect, the proportion of their vegetable may exceed that of their fleſh-meat aliment. Our climate to be ſure is cold and *raw*; our ſtomachs keen, and our powers of digeſtion pretty ſtrong; and that we are eaters of Fleſh and Fiſh too, I do not deny; accounting it rather a bleſſing to thank heaven for, that we have it, and of ſuch an excellent quality to eat. But I deny that we are eaters of *raw*-fleſh, like Savages; at leaſt I know of none ſuch among us, except *Mr. Bruce* the celebrated Traveller, who, it is ſaid, uſed to diet upon it in *Abyſſinia*, where (though a hot country) we are told it is the general *taſte*. With deference to Mr. *Rouſſeau's* tranſcendency of knowledge, I apprehend, that our culinary preparations not only change the aſpect, but the flavour and qualities of fleſh; ſtewing, roaſting, or boiling, may produce a very great difference in its effects; at leaſt Phyſicians ſeem to hold this opinion, and aſſert, that the juices undergo a material change. If they had ſaid or written not a word about it, common ſenſe and common experience would incline me to the like Sentiments. I am not the only perſon who has remarked, that the Dogs which are fed upon raw fleſh are by much the fierceſt, and the moſt dangerous to encounter. We can affirm, to the honour of our Cooks, that every joint, according to its various modes of dreſſing, has its reſpective vegetable Satellite aſſigned

aſſigned to qualify it; witneſs Beef and Cabbage; Mutton and Cauliflower; Lamb and Spinnage; and ſo on, according to the Seaſon. But perhaps, Mr. *Rouſſeau* will ſay, that he chiefly has in his eye our leſs civilized and common people, who, in proportion to the folks in affluent or eaſy circumſtances, may be in number as five to one; and that theſe, conſtituting the bulk of the nation, are the Fleſh-eaters and Savages he principally has meant. But unfortunately for his argument, on taking a ſurvey of our whole Iſland, we ſhall find that fleſh-meat is, from January to December, a very ſcanty part indeed of the diet that ſuſtains our Common people. We obſerve thoſe here, who undergo the ſevereſt toils of Agriculture, ſubſiſt chiefly upon Bread and Cheeſe; ſometimes a *modicum* of fat bacon, or a hard flour-dumplin, may be ſubſtituted for cheeſe; and for the reſt, they depend upon Potatoes, Onions, Cabbage, and other Vegetables, to eke out a ſupport. Whole and innumerable families there are of them, who never regale on Butchers' meat oftener than twice or thrice in the year; and not many of our Farmers taſte it, except for a Sunday's dinner.

In the northern parts of our kingdom, the fare of the labouring people is equally coarſe and ſimple; yet it is, from theſe people, our Army gets the hardieſt, beſt recruits. The ſuſtenance of our hard working men in London is chiefly *Porter*. None of this claſs can poſſibly afford to eat much fleſh-

fleſh-meat. They who are burthened with families can only partake of it as a rarity. And as for the ordinary claſs of women and young children, it may be ſuppoſed they do not live more ſumptuouſly than the Huſband and Father, except in the Articles of black tea and brown ſugar. I think we had not Garden-ſtuff in England, much earlier than the reign of Henry VIII. For ſome time it came imported to us from Flanders; but it has ſince been cultivated here in ſuch profuſion, that the pooreſt of our poor can afford themſelves an allowance of it, either from their own little nook of ground, or from cheap and well-ſupplied markets. Had we been formerly a ſavage people by the operation of an entire fleſh-meat diet, this ſubſequent alteration, ſince we have intermixed Vegetables with our daily aliment, muſt, upon Mr. *Rouſſeau's* principles, have wrought a very extraordinary change in our organs, feelings, and propenſities. But the only difference our ableſt Phyſicians have noticed, is a great increaſe of nervous Diſorders, or an irritability of the nervous Syſtem, and a weakneſs in the muſcular parts of our bodies. They attribute this to an abuſe in Tea, Coffee, and ſpirituous liquors; to warmer habitations and cloathing; and to a ſofter and more effeminate manner of living; all which methinks (if they could influence our Diſpoſitions) would rather tend to make us timid or cowardly, and (if cowardly) *cruel*. Mr. Rouſſeau's Hypotheſis, therefore, would not be conſiſtent, if the conſequence

quence be what I think it is, that a diet which impairs our perſonal vigour, and depreſſes our ſpirit, is more likely to acquire, than loſe, the character he beſtows on us. But if his inferences were leſs abſurd than I take them to be, I ſhould rather wiſh my Countrymen to ſtick to their Beef and Pudding as uſual, than transform themſelves by the magic power of Vegetables into a tribe of *Gaures*; and ſo become at once the *meekeſt people* and the meereſt Slaves in Europe. If the Philoſopher of *Geneva* will not honour them with his praiſe, except on ſuch undeſirable conditions, I think they muſt do as well as they can without it. I am ſurprized, however, that in contemplating our diet, he ſhould have entirely forgotten that we are *Drinkers* as well as *Eaters*; and that the influence of exceſſes in the former upon the morals of a people, is, beyond all contradiction, moſt pernicious; inſomuch, that a naturally placid temper may, by conſtant indulgence in thoſe exceſſes, be entirely altered, and rendered apt for any miſchievous prank. If we turn our eyes to *Ireland*, where the diet of the common people, conſiſting chiefly of potatoes and butter-milk, is not leſs plain and abſtemious than that of the *Gaures*; what fits of turbulence and what deeds of cruelty do we not behold there, inſpired by their darling *whisky*? But there is, alas! no occaſion to ramble beyond England for *damning proof*. One of our own Philoſophers (and no mean one) Dr. *Hales*, has aſſured us, that the immoderate uſe, among

among our common people, of thoſe cauſtic and inflammatory ſpirits, which exaſperate the paſſions, and madden the brain, has often impelled them to acts of fury and deſperation. And, indeed, it is lamentable to think, that the Exigencies of Government have been, or are ſuch, that the Revenue muſt fail of a main Pillar, if, in this inſtance, it would preſerve the morals and health of the people from being debauched, and their manners from being corrupted. Nor is it in the leaſt queſtionable, that, from the commencement of our Exciſe-laws, which induced Government to licence innumerable tippling houſes, and encourage the conſumption of theſe liquid fires, the moſt ſhocking Murders, and other horrible Enormities, have owed their Exiſtence to the phrenzy of intoxication. Theſe, *Mr. Rouſſeau*, I diſtinguſh as a ſort of anomalous miſdeeds, proceeding from temporary deprivation of reaſon, the woeful offspring of a political evil in our ſyſtem of Adminiſtration, which the magnitude of our national debt may long prevent us from ſeeing aboliſhed. The deplorable effects I have ſtated may poſſibly draw a reflection on want of wiſdom, or of œconomy in our Stateſmen; but ſhould induce commiſeration rather than cenſure upon the thoughtleſs herd of poor wretches, who are yearly ſacrificed to the cravings of the Exchequer; what we moſtly have to dread is, leſt this poiſon may ſpread in time ſuch lengths, as to *conſume* the very vitals of our Conſtitution. One word more to *Mr. Rouſſeau*, and I have done with

with him. In contraſting us with the *Gaures*, or any other of thoſe crazy ſects which *Aſia* generates, it was an unfair negligence, to omit informing his readers, that, in regard to theſe Remnants of the *Pythagorean* ſchool, it is not the diet upon Rice, and Roots, and Water, but a ſuperſtitious adherence to the tenets of their Religion, or their Philoſophy, (whichſoever it may be called) which reſtrains theſe peaceable enthuſiaſts from ſhedding blood, or feeding upon fleſh; this ſuperſtition too, not liable to be violated by any temptation from the fleſh of their Animals (which we are told by Voyagers, is rather ſorry ſtuff), but on the other hand moſt powerfully ſtimulated and ſtrengthened by the luxurious daintineſs and plenty of their vegetable aliments. In all hot Countries, Nature has granted this compenſation for the indifferent quality of the fleſh-meats they afford. It is here, that Vegetables furniſh the moſt agreeable and nutrimental repaſt, a repaſt to be obtained with little or no labour, in the higheſt perfection, and the moſt unſparing abundance; theſe are motives ſufficient for determining the preference of the inhabitants. On the character of theſe people we are not entitled to ſpeak with much preciſion; Two qualities however are aſſigned them by thoſe who pretend to a tolerable knowledge of their diſpoſition, which are, *Puſillanimity*, and *Treachery*; and I rather incline to credit theſe relations, becauſe the Negroes of *Afric*, and the Indians of *America*, ſubſiſt, it is well

well known, almoſt totally upon grain, fruits, roots, with the addition of fiſh near rivers and maritime places; yet no people upon the face of the earth (if the beſt atteſted accounts may be relied on) commit actions of more unequivocal, genuine *Cruelty*. How does this agree, *Monſieur Rouſſeau*, with a poſition which you tell us "holds "good in *all times*, and *all places?*"

If we had any reaſon for doubting that obdurate and blood-thirſty ſpirit, which marks the hot-brained, flaming prieſts of almoſt every Sect on our globe, (as if they were the choſen Veſſels of the Devil rather than of the Deity) we ſhould contemplate theſe Fanatics of India with aſtoniſhment; for it would appear unaccountably ſtrange, that men ſo extolled for their mildneſs ſhould commit a variety of ſhocking cruelties upon their own perſons. We are told, that in *Bengal*, upon every 9th Day of April, they have a penance, which conſiſts of being hoiſted-up by pullies, and ſuſpending themſelves *by hooks drawn through the fleſh of their ſhoulders, or breaſts*, ſwinging at the ſame time with great velocity. Another mode is, to be hung up by ropes tied about their ancles and knees, and *ſwung over a fire*, which they keep up themſelves with dry wood placed for that purpoſe within their reach. Others carry ponderous chains, huge ſtones, and other loads of immenſe weight, enough to diſlocate their backs, or their necks; and in ſome parts the *Laws of prieſtcraft* require, that the widows of every Grandee

ſhall

ſhall burn themſelves to death on the ſame funeral pile with their deceaſed Huſband. In *Europe*, the like Spirit dictated the expediency of thoſe *humane* and *pleaſurable rites*, of ſcarifying the body with Thorns or ſcourges till it was compleatly beſmeared with gore; wearing ſhirts of the coarſeſt hair-cloth to chafe, and fret the ſkin; daubing the head with aſhes and filth after the *Hottentot* manner; parching the body with extreme famine; eating the ſordid food of Brutes, and ſkulking like them in dens and foreſts; abjuring the propagation of their own ſpecies; walking bare-foot upon red hot bars of iron; plunging the limbs into boiling oil or water; throwing old women, tied neck and heels, into ponds and rivers; and a thouſand other ſuch ingenious devices. Thus we ſee, that Bigots of every religion in the world are uniformly ſtupid and barbarous. The God of their painting delights in bloody ſacrifices and vengeance: They deſcribe him as a peeviſh, malicious, obſtinate, and tormenting fiend, ſuch as we ſuppoſe the Devil to be; aſcribing to him all thoſe evil qualities which are moſt predominant in their own Tempers, that they may appear to be his veritable repreſentatives upon Earth. And thus *Deſpots* and *Bigots*, exactly coincide in their theology: Theſe are the real uſurpers of God's terreſtrial Government; the Demons in human Shape, who turn our Paradiſe into a Hell—an Hell, beyond which, we can ſcarcely imagine any more direful; where the Tyrant wants neither ingenuity to contrive, nor

power to inflict, the moſt exquiſite pains; and where the miſerable Sufferer, ſtripped and degraded, retains nothing peculiar to human nature, except, the moſt poignant ſenſibility of feeling.

I ſhould be inexcuſably tireſome, in toiling on further to confute ſo whimſical a writer as Mr. Rouſſeau, who has uſed a bad reaſon for traducing us, when he could meet with no other.

As for other Foreigners, I propoſe to trace their Sentiments upon a more comprehenſive ſcale, as they apply in a more general way to our Education, Cuſtoms, Laws, Hiſtory, and many other particulars, which ſhall have all the attention paid them, that is conſiſtent with the limits of a ſhort tract.

Some foreign writers, who have treated on the ſubject of Education, condemn in very pointed terms the practice of *whipping*, which is held, I ſuppoſe, in moſt other European Seminaries a *ſine quo non*, as well as in England; *we* are not, it is true, particularly noticed on this account by ſuch writers, but being included in the general reprehenſion, it is proper to conſider how far it may be conceived to influence our temper and manners? If *length of uſage* could render an abſurd practice a proper one, this may juſtly arrogate ſuch a venerable Sanction, ſince its pedigree recedes beyond our power to follow it. Scourging ſeems to have been a very antient ſcholaſtic inſtitution; and the flaggellating powers of *Orbilius* have given his name that immortality, which his merits in any other

other reſpect would not have conferred on it. In our own Country, the rod has ever been in the hands of Eccleſiaſtics by a kind of *hereditary right*; we are bound to thank Nature for having planted the *Birch Tree* in this iſland, and that our *Buſby's*, and others of the *Thwak'um* family have not been reduced to the neceſſity of exerciſing the *holly* or the *Furze-buſh* upon us; or rather, perhaps, we ſhould be thankful, that the wholeſome penance of flagellation, time out of mind, inflicted by the miniſters of the Romiſh church upon themſelves and their followers, inclined them to a predilection for birch, in tenderneſs to their own fleſh; and that when the diſcipline of our Schools paſſed (in conſequence of the *Reformation)* into proteſtant hands, the ſame inſtrument and diſcipline (like other rites and ceremonies of the Papiſts, whereof we are told, "ſome "were thought meet to be retained, and others to "be put away") were adopted into uſe by the new Sovereigns, and have ever ſince continued in the ſame manner as our *Liturgy*, with little or no deviation from their primitive form. Whether this may be the exact hiſtory of its deſcent to us, or not, I cannot poſitively aſſert; but we know by Tradition from Father to Son, that it has been the grand training-engine of youth in this Country, for many Ages. Having therefore ſuch undoubted antiquity on its ſide, and acquired ſomething of a ſacred nature, like the *aurea Virga* of the *Æneid*, I fear the boldeſt of us dare not wreſt it out of the

clutches of thoſe, who have now gotten ſo well eſtabliſhed a poſſeſſion; I muſt therefore content myſelf with hoping, that, in order to ſecure that reverence and awe which are due to *ſacred things*, it may (as other Eccleſiaſtic Reliques are) be handled cautiouſly, and produced only upon very ſolemn occaſions; which I am ſorry to obſerve is not the caſe at preſent; I the rather declare this hope, becauſe the Rod is a dangerous weapon, not fit to be entruſted to the ſway of every Pedagogue; leaſt of all of thoſe men whoſe impatience and irritability of temper, further ſoured by a Recluſe manner of life, which debars them very much from intercourſe with the world, confirmed too by a certain tyrannical ſupercilious pride which ariſes from abſolute authority, cauſe violent burſts of fury againſt their little Diſciples. The hearts of ſome among them are ſteeled by habit againſt the compunctions of pity. Some brandiſh the terrific Beeſom every morning by way of ſalutary recreation for their limbs. I remember one of them who adminiſtered it repeatedly for ſeveral days, in order to promote the diſcuſſion of a Boil on his arm. In ſhort, there ſeems to be *a ſomewhat* ſo exquiſitely pleaſant in the occupation of flogging, that a pretence for it is ſeldom wanting. Corporal puniſhment, the moſt ſhameful in the effect it produces on an ingenuous mind, and which is due only to hardened impudence, and actual vice, is here indiſcriminately beſtowed on all offences, great or ſmall, and upon all occaſions right or wrong;

wrong; confounding all ideas of Juſtice and Equality, and involving the moſt innocent with the moſt guilty; inflicted too at particular times with ſo much paſſion, and in ſuch a ſavage extreme, that it has done a great deal of miſchief; ſtupifying the intellects of ſome boys; indurating others againſt all ſenſe of ſhame, decency, and honour, driving them out of manly openneſs and ſincerity, into all the mean ſubterfuges of low cunning, falſhood, treachery, and prevarication; ſowing in tender minds the ſeeds of abject ſervility, cowardice, inſolence, and every vile and deſpicable propenſity. So that foreigners may well ſurmiſe, if any thing could ſubdue the generoſity of our nature, it would be this unphiloſophical, and ſlaviſh ſcourging of the poſteriors for *ſeven or eight years* of our childhood. Nay, ſome Teachers (by way of keeping up *Diſcipline*, their favourite plea) have even had the *immodeſty* to chaſtiſe, in this manner, Lads at the age of puberty, their ſuperiors in bulk and ſtature *.

To ſay the truth, it has been the poor refuge of thoſe, whoſe narrow genius was unequal to the forming, comprehending, or executing, an enlarged ſyſtem of moral and manly cultivation, adapted to the youth in a free country. But inſtead of teaching the barbarous ſcience of torture, and lacera-

* The practices of *lying* and *thieving*, are in my opinion the only ones that juſtify this mode of puniſhment. Theſe mean, and ungentlemanly vices ſeem to be it's propereſt Objects; for the whip and the cane are appropriated to the poltroon, not to the Gentleman.

tion, it were far wiſer and more uſeful, to teach them *Humanity*; to cheriſh in their boſoms an averſion from inflicting pain upon any being capable of feeling it; to diſcourage the now-permitted amuſement of worrying helpleſs animals by a variety of ingenious modes; ſuch as robbing poor birds of their young; and impaling inſects alive upon pins and needles. We are not to expect this reformation from men, who preſent in their own Viſage, Speech, and Manners, the emblems of malice, and moroſeneſs. This School Government is a ſort of *Imperium in Imperio*, the pretty exact model of a Deſpotic Form exiſting within a Free State; and our Youths alternately ſuffering griefs and miſeries under the one; vivacity and happineſs under the other, derive this advantage from their experience, that it fixes in their minds an indelible hatred to tyrannic Rule; ſo different is that life of reſtraint and auſterity to which they are ſubjugated at School; from thoſe immunities, and that chearful liberty, occaſionally enjoyed at their Father's houſe, or which are afterwards more extenſively poſſeſſed, when they are adults and become their own maſters. For, the recollection of theſe Juvenile hardſhips is rarely effaced, but maintains its impreſſion very often to the lateſt period of a long life. I know in my own Example, that I ſtill feel it lively and freſh, though above thirty years have elapſed ſince my deliverance from Bondage; and ever and anon my nightly ſlumbers are diſturbed by *Doctor Tickle-*

tail's

tail's direful Figure in diſmal Raven-colour clad; who, with Fury-de-rod, is juſt about to flay my poor diſmantled Breech. In vain I ſupplicate his clemency with tears, or try to mollify his rage with Entreaties. Deaf and inſenſible to the voice of woe, his bloody, boiſterous threats, now thunder in my ear; my very ſoul is agonized with terror; it is too much for nature; She reprieves me from the laſh; I wake; and rejoice to find, *it is but a Dream!* May every Advocate for Tyranny be haunted *de die in diem*, with theſe nocturnal viſions, till he recants his error, and vows eternal enmity againſt all power unduly and rancorouſly exerciſed. And may the ſpirit of our Engliſh Youths, if not wholly broken and debaſed by this early proceſs of ſlavery, be exerted after their entrance into the wider field of public life, with redoubled vigor, in ſupport of that manly character and love of juſt freedom, which a raſh, ignoble pedagogue has been labouring to everberate *.

It is a great comfort then, that, although our ſyſtem of Education might ſeem contrived on purpoſe to prepare us for being ſtupidly ſervile, or wantonly ſevere, it more generally produces

* There are many of us too fond of old obſolete ſayings, miſapplied, and ſometimes corrupted, ſuch as, "*Spare* the "*Rod*, and *ſpoil* the *Child*," which is entirely changed from the original Apophthegm, for this was, "*Spoil* the "*Rod*, and *ſpare* the *Child*." I have taken the opportunity to reſtore the true reading, for the benefit of my young friends; and deſire it may for the future be uſed with this *correction*, *meo periculo*.

effects the very reverſe; for it is moſt true, that tyranny, like vice, is,

——a *monſter* of ſuch horrid mien,
That to be hated, only needs be ſeen.

And if compleatly hated in our younger years, the probability is, that we may not dote upon it in our maturer age.

Our *Cuſtoms* fall next under conſideration; and of theſe, but few others are within our preſent ſcope, except what (with very little propriety) are called *Sports*. Theſe rank in two diviſions. *Firſt*, including ſuch as ſeem intended to diſplay the courage, vigour, and agility of our *men*. The *ſecond*, ſuch as are to exhibit the like qualities in our *animals*.

We are not ſurprized to find a martial People, as the *Romans* were, delighting in *Games*, which undoubtedly received their firſt inſtitution in the camp. The combats of Gladiators were of this ſort; and grew ſo much in vogue, that even Emperors entered the liſts,—and to fall by the hands of a *Nero*, was deemed, in the luxurious and profligate age of the Empire, one of the higheſt honours to which Citizens ſhould aſpire. When afterwards the Church found means to acquire that Dominion over the world, which a race of degenerate Emperors had been unable to retain, the *Croiſades* gave birth to the Romantic orders of Chivalry, and the cuſtom of Jouſts and Tournaments, which became the faſhionable amuſement of every polite court in Criſtendom; out of theſe grew, Trials by combat, in which the inno-

cen

cent party, if he happened to be not quite ſo robuſt, nor ſo ſkilful as his antagoniſt, was ſure of being adjudged guilty; for *Holy Church* had declared, that Heaven always eſpouſed the victorious ſide *. Theſe cuſtoms are ſcarcely yet obliterated, notwithſtanding all that good ſenſe has done to explode them. *Prize-fighting* was common here at the beginning of the preſent Century; but the joint forces of ridicule and reaſon, employed ſo ſucceſsfully by Mr. *Addiſon* and others, together with the more inoffenſive pleaſure ariſing from dramatic repreſentations, entirely put an end to it. *Duelling* ſtill ſubſiſts; but it ſubſiſts entirely by thoſe fallacious *Dogmas* which military *honour* ſupports, and will probably continue to ſupport: I call them fallacious, becauſe, if conſidered as the Teſt of military valour, none can in moſt caſes be more ſo; yet ſuch is the abſolute power of prejudice, that neither Royal Edicts in France, nor Acts of Parliament in England, have as yet ſuppreſſed it in either Kingdom. In Italy or Spain, perhaps, the injured or offended perſon would revenge himſelf by aſſaſſination, or ſome other mode which would not expoſe his own life to hazard. Duelling ſeems to give a better chance of *fair play*; yet, even here, the ſtronger, or more ſkilful party, having the odds much in his favour, whether the matter be at iſſue with ſword, or with piſtol, it is by no means a mode of deciſion founded on principles of equality and

* The proverbial ſaying of thoſe days was:
"*Les morts ſon tort*,"
"The *dead* are always in the wrong."

juſtice.

juſtice. Still, it is leſs cruel than the inſidious practice by private ſtabbing or poiſoning, and therefore will argue a manlineſs and generoſity of ſpirit exiſting in thoſe people, who have adopted it, as the rule for terminating quarrels, which are not ſo uſually referred to the civil courts. The old Cuſtoms of *Bruiſing* or *Boxing*, *Cudgel-playing*, and *Wreſtling*, ſtill keep their ground; theſe are truly the property of our Common-people; and may very ſafely in general be tolerated in a Country ſo noted for its military Spirit, to ſuſtain which, ſome athletic exerciſes are abſolutely neceſſary; as to theſe, we cannot but remark, that noble ſingularity of *ſhaking hands* which diſtinguiſhes theſe conflicts, and far better than words can do it, characteriſes our honeſt countrymen: Theſe men, not only valuing themſelves on this native courage, but eſteeming the like quality in their animals, have been equally fond of ſeeing it exhibited; and hence the diverſions of *Bull-baiting* and *Cock-fighting*. The fierceneſs of the Engliſh Maſtiff, Bull, and Game-cock, has been ſpoken of by a multitude of writers, and with a degree of admiration, as if ſuperior in this reſpect to animals of the like ſpecies in other countries: It is not at all wonderful therefore, that our Common people, and even their betters, are ſometimes deſirous of putting this extraordinary proweſs to the trial. Nature, we know, has furniſhed ſome ſpecies of Animals with a violent antipathy towards others; ſo that they inherit a diſpoſition to fight whenever they

they meet; this too is obſervable of the males of moſt ſpecies. It is not my buſineſs here to enquire, how far, in the judgement of a Philoſopher, we may be right, when we drag the Bull and the Maſtiff into combat; we are aſſured, if they happened to confront each other by accident in the ſame field, they would inſtantly haſten to engage; nor would it be in the power of any philoſopher to part them: the wiſeſt courſe upon ſuch an occaſion is to walk off quietly, and leave them purſuing the ſuggeſtions of their inſtinct. The baiting of Bears and Badgers, *&c.* all theſe are derived from ſimilar origin; and becauſe man is the natural Enemy to Animals of prey, helpleſs creatures fly to us for protection, and we league againſt their bold invaders. I doubt we cannot ſo eaſily acquit ourſelves, in perſecuting the timorous Hare; but certainly the pleaſure of the chace does not ariſe from worrying an inoffenſive animal, but from the health and ſpirits this Exerciſe gives us, the ſagacity of the Dogs, the melody of their full cry, and the wily arts of their prey to elude purſuit.

Theſe diverſions more or leſs prevail in all parts of Europe. *Cock-fighting* is more peculiarly Engliſh; and is liable to no other objection than the arming theſe noble birds with ſteel gaffs; this, I acknowledge, is not free from the charge of barbarity; nor can I well attribute it to any other cauſe, than the exigencies of Gambling, which require theſe combats to be ſhorter and more deciſive than they would be, were thoſe weapons only

only employed which nature has equipped them with; unleſs perhaps this rencounter with *ſmall-ſwords* be regarded as a more Gentlemanly manner of fighting. Uſe what perſuaſive arguments we may, I doubt, mankind will never agree to practiſe univerſal peace and benevolence. Battles and Sieges will continue to fill the page of Hiſtory; and the public voice will conſecrate to never-dying fame thoſe Heroes who have fallen, in the bed of Honour. The ſame habits of thinking govern men even in their paſtimes; and the feathered *Cæſars* and *Alexanders* of our Cockpits excite admiration and applauſe, with far more reaſon than their nameſakes of antiquity. I proteſt, I cannot help bringing all theſe pugnacious animals into the ſame claſs; and conſidering that they do not rip, tear, ſlaſh, and ſlay, each other, to entertain a parcel of idle Spectators, but to gratify their own natural appetite for hoſtility. Very different from this, is the caſe of the unfortunate *dunghill-breed*, who are regularly tied by the leg to a *Stake*, and cudgeled to death every *Shrove-tide*. This unmerciful cuſtom has nothing that I know of to plead in its defence, beyond what I ſhall preſently mention. What reaſon can be given, why the inventors of an amuſement, at once ſo ſanguinary and unfair, ſhould have ſelected this uſeful and domeſtic bird in particular, to exerciſe their wrath upon, inſtead of the Crow, the Magpie, Raven, and others of the pernicious kind, and whoſe fate would leſs have merited our compaſ-

ſion?

ſion? Doubtleſs, as in the example of *Flagellation*, we have *church-authority* for it. Conformably to the malevolent ſpirit of Pontifical bigotry in other inſtances, it was no other than a ſort of revenge, worthy the genius of a *Monk*, inſtituted againſt poor Chanticleer, for the ſcandal which was brought on *Saint Peter* by one of this ſpecies, as we read in Scripture, whoſe crowings convicted him of denying his Maſter. Is it extraordinary that Jews and Proteſtants ſhould be burnt, when even Dunghill-cocks are brought to the ſtake; enrolled in the black liſt for Hereſy, and doomed to annual maſſacre?—But it is to be hoped, that the merciful interpoſition of Magiſtrates and Teachers of youth may in time annihilate entirely this popiſh feſtival; much indeed has been done towards ſo deſireable an end, by many elegant and pathetic expoſtulations from the preſs, in behalf of this devoted race. The ſubſtitution of wooden and paper figures has contributed ſomewhat in their favour. But a *choice plumb-cake* poiſed upon an upright ſtaff, to be decreed lawful prize to the experteſt thrower (after the *Spartan* mode) would be ſtill better, and I believe more elegible for our ſchool boys, who at preſent are the chief ſupporters of this veteran Cuſtom.

Impartiality forbids me here to omit ſpeaking of a local practice, which has often drawn reproach upon our laws. I mean the barbarities formerly exerciſed by ſome inhabitants on certain parts of our Coaſt, and which have ſometimes proceeded ſo far as even to kill the ſhipwrecked

wrecked mariner, that no claimant might ſurvive to reſcue the cargo from depredation. Our wall of Rocks, already ſo formidable to ſeamen, became doubly terrific by a cuſtom worthy only of a *New-Zealander*.—To account for a crime, at once ſo foreign to our nature, ſo inhoſpitable and brutal, is not difficult. It ſprung up in the age of *feudal tenure* *, when the rapacity of Kings, leſs merciful than the winds and waves, ingulphed all thoſe valuable merchandizes which the Tempeſt had ſpared. To this day, the *manerial* claim ſubſiſts to *Flotſam*, *Jetſam*, *Wreccum-maris*, and *Dereliƈts*. But the diſhonour of ſuch felonious acquiſitions, the Remonſtrances of Commerce, the Enfranchiſement (in ſhort) of the common people, and the civilizing proviſions enacted by different Statutes, have, I truſt, aboliſhed this monſtrous evil; inſomuch, that the goods of merchants, and the lives of mariners, brought into ſo diſtreſsful a ſituation by the violence of the weather, and the ocean, are now ſecured for the owners with as much humanity, and as few obſtacles from land-pirates, as in any other commercial State of Europe. It was the *Imperial*, not our Engliſh, Common Law, that firſt encouraged theſe unjuſtifiable

* "*Britannos hoſpitibus feros.*" This expreſſion of the Roman poet might ſeem to give it an earlier date.—But we know that the Romans called the people of every unſubdued nation, *Barbarians*; and the "*feros hoſpitibus*," probably means no more, than the ferocity of the Britiſh Natives diſplayed againſt the Invaders of their Coaſt; of which, *Julius Cæſar* had ſome experience, at his firſt deſcent.

ſeizures

ſeizures for the Lords of the Soil. But there is no fear they will ever be revived, unleſs this Kingdom ſhould have the misfortune of loſing its commerce and its freedom: we may then indeed relapſe into our primitive vaſſalage; and ſee the *Imperial Law* re-eſtabliſhed as the law of the Land; to countenance the rights of *Seignory* and *Piracy* in the fulleſt extent *.

It is unneceſſary to examine, in the next place, thoſe *Occupations* which are thought to ſubdue by habit, the natural tenderneſs of the human feeling, and introduce a calloſity of heart. Such are thoſe of *Cooks* and *Butchers*. We obſerve nothing here but what we have in common with other countries, where animal foods are in uſe. The plunging Lobſters alive into boiling water, and flaying live Eels, were the horrid inventions of ſome firſt-rate Epicure; whether churchman or layman, a *Pope*, or a *Darteneuf*, is not at preſent certain; theſe are refinements for which we are not anſwerable. But in regard to Butchers, we are ſure it is a ſtrong preſumption of our humanity, that we do not ſuffer them on our juries, to try their fellow-ſubjects in caſes of Life and Death: We have moreover expreſſed our diſlike that *Biſhops* ſhould ſit as Judges in the Houſe of Peers, on ſimilar Trials; ſurely this excluſion proceeds not from a dread of any thing ſanguinary in the temper of theſe righteous and apoſtolic men? I

* By the *Imperial* Law, the *Revenue* of *Wrecks* was given to the *Prince's Treaſury*. Our *antient* Common Law adopted this Rule.

rather

rather conceive it is from the humane deſire of not wounding their ſpiritual meekneſs with the pain of giving Sentence in *caſes of blood*. Let them abandon this caſt of office to the inquiſitorial Tribunals; it is enough, if they vote for that licenſed ſlaughter of mankind which armies may be paid for committing in a *regular way*, by "*the* "*Powers that be.*" Our *Hiſtory* is a Theme which there is no occaſion for me to dwell upon. The diſtinctions I ſat out with, reſpecting Acts of Government, and Acts of the people, reduce all that is to be ſaid upon it into very ſmall compaſs.

The murders and cruelties acted by the injunction of Sovereigns, as in the reigns of Richard the IIId and Henry VIIIth; the burning of the Lollards and Reformers; the Starchamber-tortures, by cropping ears and noſes; boring the tongue with red-hot irons; inhuman whippings; immoderate fines and impriſonment; packing and browbeating Juries; inſulting priſoners and witneſſes at Trials; the Execution of Monmouth's adherents, and other immolations to a vindictive bigot, by *Jefferies* and *Kirke*; and the maſſacre of the *Glenco* Men, in William the third's reign; not to mention ſome other examples of a ſimilar complexion in later times; all theſe are the exorbitant acts of executive power; the mephitic effluvia of Governmental inſtigation or coercion, and independent of the will of the people *. I proceed therefore to ſpeak

* The Maſſacre at *Glenco* in *Scotland* (1692) ſeems to have

ſpeak of the *Laws*. No remark is more uſual among foreigners than, "that a greater number of "ſubjects is capitally puniſhed in England, than in "all the reſt of Europe put together."

have ſprung from an old grudge between the two Highland Clans, of Campbel and Macdonald, about *ſtolen cattle*, in conſequence of which, Secretary Stair and the Earl of Breadalbin were violently ſtrenuous for eradicating the *Glenco-men*, as *a neſt of Thieves*. The Secretary availing himſelf of the King's general inſtructions, for ſubduing all thoſe Rebels who, after expiration of the Term of Indemnity, ſhould ſtill keep in Arms, and refuſe the Oath of Allegiance, iſſued private orders *directly repugnant* to the Inſtructions, and cauſed between twenty and thirty perſons, old and young, to be cut off by military execution, in *cool blood*, and ſome of them *in their very beds*; although the Inſtructions had expreſsly enjoined the granting them terms and quarter, and leaving them to the Royal Clemency. In the courſe of this inhuman procedure ſo far, nothing reflects upon the King. But afterwards, when in perſuance of his commiſſion to enquire into this inexcuſable buſineſs, not only his Commiſſioners, but the Parliament of Scotland, ſolemnly reported it to have been a *Murder*, accompanied by particular circumſtances of barbarity, done at the inſtance of Secretary Stair, by certain Officers of the King's army (whoſe names they pointed out) and the ſoldiers under their command, either his Majeſty or his Miniſters moſt ſcandalouſly ſlurr'd over the matter, and ſome of the guilty officers were rewarded with preferment inſtead of an halter. I do not undertake to determine whether, for this palpable avoidance of Juſtice, the weight of criminality ought to be reſted upon the King, or on thoſe about him. *Qui conſentit, facit*; and his rewarding, when he ſhould rather have proſecuted and puniſhed, the actors, implies indiſputably an approbation of the crime on the part of Government. On the ſhoulders of Government therefore we ſhall leave both the Guilt and the Diſgrace.

This, at firſt appearance, ſeems an heavy charge againſt us, and ſhall therefore have a due examination. Having never ſeen a liſt of annual Executions in any foreign country, I am unable to aſcertain how the Balance exactly ſtands in the compariſon; but let us allow (for argument ſake) the fact to be as it is alledged. The criminals in this kingdom, which harbours fugitives and vagabonds from every other, are doubtleſs very numerous. Theſe criminals, when brought to juſtice, are fairly tried, convicted, and adjudged to ſuffer the puniſhment ordained by our laws. In all caſes, this may be ſaid to happen, except when time-ſerving Judges and ſuborned Juries pervert the Law, and except in that of an innocent perſon, *caſt* upon the teſtimony of perjured Evidence, ſo artfully fabricated, and rendered ſo conſiſtent, as to deceive all the acuteneſs of able Judges, and impartial Jurymen. It is the great principle of our laws which enact the penalty, that they have not in view to be *revenged* upon offenders, but to reſtrain men by the terror of puniſhment from offending. There is much humanity in this proviſion, if rightly underſtood; not merely becauſe it is a wiſer and better courſe to prevent crimes, than invent chaſtiſement for them, but becauſe our legiſlature, knowing there reſided in the Sovereign a diſcretionary power of reprieving and pardoning condemned criminals, were not to ſuppoſe, but this gracious prerogative would be duly and regularly exerted in mercy to every delinquent whoſe caſe

caſe could from juſt motives lay claim to it; the Judges too, and Juries, exerciſe the right of recommending every proper object; and this recommendation can very ſeldom be urged, without being fully yielded to. If therefore it ſhould ever happen, that men are hanged for pardonable crimes; and that others, who for the good of Society ought to ſuffer death, are pardoned by the Sovereign, this glaring miſapplication of prerogative, which tends to multiply the growth of the moſt dreadful villanies, is chargeable upon the Sovereign, and not on the legiſlature, who never meant, nor looked for ſo great and inequitable an abuſe. On the other hand, had the ſpecific puniſhment annexed to the commiſſion of crimes been ſmall, and inadequate to the purpoſe of terror, the laws would have rather encouraged, than diſſuaded the Subject from, the breach of them; and in this caſe, neither the Judges nor the Sovereign could have extended the ſpecific puniſhment an hair's-breadth beyond its preſcribed quality and degree; ſo that ſuch a conſequence muſt neceſſarily have forced the legiſlators to iſſue their prohibition in a ſeverer tone. But further, there is a very wide difference between the ſituation of things in this free proteſtant country, and others which are enſlaved to an abſolute prince, and a Popiſh clergy. With us, offences againſt the ſtate form but a trifling portion of the penal Code: the major part of theſe laws are relative to injuries done by ſubject to ſubject. It is not ſo, in thoſe countries

I have mentioned, where offences committed againſt the Prince or the Church are chiefly adverted to, and puniſhed; ſo that, if the Subject take but care enough to keep himſelf clear from theſe two, he may rarely ſuffer for other tranſgreſſions *. This is the darling *Licentiouſneſs* of ſlavery, and the grand conſolation of thoſe, who compound their loſs of Freedom for the indulgence of being as wicked as they pleaſe; and with full abſolution from their ghoſtly confeſſor, provided they are neither guilty of Treaſon or Slander againſt the Sovereign; nor of Blaſphemy or Sacrilege againſt Holy Church. Have we not well-atteſted accounts from a variety of Travellers, that Murther is daily and openly perpetrated in theſe Countries with impunity? †

Europe

* In abſolute monarchies, whoſe firſt principle of Government is Fear, *Regicide* is held the *greateſt of all poſſible crimes*, and conſequently the moſt ſeverely puniſhed. We muſt feel for the miſery of human nature, when we read of the Tortures of *Damien*; in compariſon with which, the puniſhment of the Portugueſe conſpirators (againſt the late King *Don Joſeph*) was *mild*, who ſuffered the *ſame* puniſhment as is by their laws inflicted on thoſe convicted of *falſifying the Coin*, or *any other crime* againſt *the State*."

Letter on the State of Portugal, p. 24.

"The *prieſts* do not concern themſelves about the morality of the people, *provided* they ſhew *no neglect* to the due obſervances of the *Church*." *Id.* p. 54.

† *Smollet* tells us, the rowers he employed to carry him from Nice to Genoa, would rather have died with hunger, than ſuffered the leaſt morſel of *fleſh-meat* to enter their mouths

Europe was aſtoniſhed to hear, that a peer of our Realm had been hanged at Tyburn, for *only* killing his Servant. Such an affair in France, perhaps, might have been puniſhed with a three month's baniſhment from the Drawing-room.

There are ſome crimes of ſo dangerous a nature, that they ought never to be excuſed here: Such are, *Wilful Murder* and *Forgery*. The latter, which has been very common in England, is hardly known

mouths on a *Friday* or *Saturday*. All over this Country (*Italy*), ſays he, a Man who tranſgreſſes the inſtitutions of the *Church* in theſe ſmall matters, is *much more infamous* than one who has committed the moſt flagrant *crimes* againſt nature and morality. A *Murderer*, *Adulterer*, *Sodomite*, will obtain eaſy *abſolution* from the church, and even find favour from Society; but a man who eats a pigeon on a *Saturday*, without expreſs licence, is avoided and abhorred.

Sharpe gives the ſame teſtimony. "There are more *Murders*, ſays he, in a month in this ſmall city (of *Naples*) than in that large and wicked place *London*. The Mob often quarrel and ſtab one another to death; for which they are tried by two Attornies, who plead and jockey each other, by which means puniſhment is protracted, and juſtice eluded. Atrocious parricides often eſcape juſtice; and only four perſons were executed during the four laſt years. If a Murderer only touch a Church-wall before he is ſeized by the officers, Holy Church will not permit him to be hanged. If one man ſtabs another in preſence of ten witneſſes, they all run away, for fear of being laid hold of, and ſhut up in priſon for many days or weeks, before they are examined." Their character is compendiouſly ſummed up in the words which *Juvenal* has applied to the *Jews* in his time:

"*So ſuperſtitious* that they'd ſooner dine
"Upon the fleſh of *Man*, that that of *Swine*."

in countries that have little or no commerce, nor paper to accommodate their circulation in place of coin. Robberies too muſt be equally infrequent in thoſe tradeleſs and moneyleſs communities, where ſcarcely exiſts a temptation for Theft.

We are the only people, ſince the time of the Jewiſh Chroniclers, who regiſter, and publiſh to the world in our *news-papers*, all the heinous actions that happen in our Community. Nay, we even go further, and add many fictitious articles to the catalogue. The Italians, the Germans, the French, and the reſt of our neighbours, make no ſuch revelations of the turpitude which infeſts their reſpective dominions. *Voltaire* very honeſtly confeſſes his belief, that from this cauſe we have been ſo noted for *Suicide*, although he ſuppoſes it to happen nearly as often in France and other Countries. Grant, that we have Examples of vice and villainy in common with other Nations; will it not be granted too, that we are the more liable to be annoyed with them, from the opportunity which bad men have of flying Juſtice in other places, to ſecrete themſelves in this iſland? Let me obſerve likewiſe, that a ſpecies of generoſity ſeems even to elevate our Rogues above their foreign brethren in iniquity. True, it is the *Etiquette* of our Footpads to attack and pillage with the violence of Ruffians, except that they do not always murder; but our Highwaymen would think their profeſſion *diſgraced*, if they were to behave with rudeneſs and inſult. To the fair ſex in particular they have

have often ſhewn marks of a polite and delicate attention. None can eaſe us of our ſuperfluous pelf with greater civility in general than theſe men; no, not even a *prime miniſter*. We are told, that in *France* every Highway-robber is a murderer. But the treacherous Stiletto, the baſeneſs of Aſſaſſination, Poiſon, and Torture, ſo frequent in other States, are rarely employed in England. There is, if I may be allowed to ſay it, an ingenuous and manly openneſs of behaviour even in our very malefactors, which *dignifies* them in compariſon with foreign miſcreants. Not, however, to become the encomiaſt of criminals, I ſhall only add this pertinent deduction; that if the *worſt* perſons among us do, by the tenor of their behaviour, bring any force to our argument, it will be acknowledged, that the orderly and virtuous part of our public, which comprehends ſo large a majority, muſt *a fortiori* poſſeſs the excellent quality we boaſt of, in a far ſuperior degree; and that they do poſſeſs it, I think, is evident from the ampleſt Teſtimonials. I have endeavoured to ſhew that theſe teſtimonials, being in their nature *internal* for the moſt part, are, for that reaſon, not perſpicuous at firſt ſight to Foreigners, very few of whom condeſcend to viſit us; or, when they viſit, ſeldom protract their reſidence to that length which is proper for becoming intimately converſant with our language, and the popular genius in ſo extenſive an iſland. With information ſo ſcanty and imperfect, it is no wonder if their prejudices

continue unſhaken. Fewer ſtill among them are deſirous of ſpending much pains towards illuminating the character of a people, who are already viewed with a jaundiced eye. Singular as we are in the enjoyment of both civil and religious freedom, it is the natural reſult of policy, in foreign Courts and Popiſh Synods, to ſpeak of us as monſters; to the end, that, amidſt the darkneſs and horrors with which they envelope our character, the ſubjects of the former may not grow diſcontented and unruly, by diſcerning the charms of our liberty; nor the diſciples of the latter break the chains which hold them to the Pontifical dominion. The former, therefore, paint us as lawleſs Savages; and the latter, as Heretics, the Devil's own children, abominable in the ſight of of every good catholic, the very peſts of the world, and curſe of the creation.

I ſhall avoid, for my part, to recriminate. I ſhall forbear to deſcribe the infernal ſpectacle of the *Auto de fe*, which makes a *Gala*-day for all the inhabitants of Portugal; or the royal *Bull-feaſts* of Spain; or the Racks and the *Baſtiles* of France; nor ſhall I touch upon a million of other barbarities public and private, ſanctioned by prieſts, or tolerated by princes, in theſe and other foreign States, the very enumeration of which would be irkſome to my Engliſh reader. We ſhall take no pleaſure in expatiating upon any ſuch, for we compaſſionate all our fellow-creatures, who are doomed to the calamity of holding a loathſome exiſtence

exiſtence under any Government ſo tyrannically conſtituted. But, excluſive of our thinking, that, were the fact aſſerted of our cruelty really undeniable, it could admit no extenuation from alledging the diſpoſition and practice of other nations, we muſt deſire not to loſe ſight of the important Principle, before inſiſted on, "That acts of inhu-"manity which proceed from the miſuſe of thoſe "executive powers lodged in a Monarch, or from "the wicked illuſions of an imperious juggling "clergy, are not to be charged upon a whole "people;" for this reaſon it is, that the Subjects of other Kingdoms are moſt deſervedly the objects of our *pity*. For we conſider, that when the people of any ſociety become enſlaved to their Sovereign and their clergy, and ceaſe to think for themſelves, they depart at once from their original Nature; and although the ſeeds of real virtue and heroiſm may ſtill be latent in their Souls, yet Tyranny, Superſtition, and Cuſtom, have ſtifled their vegetation. Their character takes a new turn; and being no longer *Free Agents*, ſuch as God and reaſon intended they ſhould be, their actions and their ſentiments derive an heterogeneous colouring, from the influence of that deſpoſition in church and ſtate which has *unmanned* them. I might perhaps have drawn an exception unfavourable to the Spaniſh nation, which, contrary to the *expreſs command* of the Sovereign, continued to exterminate the unoffending and defenceleſs natives of *South America*. But upon impartial

ſearch,

ſearch, I perceive ſome palliation (even for theſe unmerciful invaders) in the diabolical canons of a religion, which has taught and exhorted them to render the Almighty an acceptable Service, by rooting out all *Infidels* and *Heretics*. The horrid proſcriptions and barbarities, which deluged the *Netherlands* with proteſtant bloood, ſhall likewiſe be attributed to the like *Satanic* policy which governed the mind and the meaſures of *Philip*. The Spaniards, *as a people*, were ever renowned for their courage and their humanity, till Deſpotiſm and Bigotry overwhelmed their freedom, and plunged them in the darkneſs of ignorance and prejudice.

From all theſe combined cauſes, many powerful reaſons will be inferred, why fewer executions may happen in other countries of Europe than in England; but the combination furniſhes no proof, that they contain *fewer* of the worſt *Malefactors*; nor will an inference juſtly be drawn from thence, that ſuch foreign governments or legiſlatures are the more humane, becauſe they ſo frequently connive *(for reaſons of State)* at the moſt flagitious guilt; a policy, which is certainly attended with the higheſt injuſtice to the virtuous and induſtrious claſs of their people. It may be true, that in ſome abſolute monarchies, as in France, the executive power, with its train of ſpies, informers, and *marechauſſe*, may be more active, and the *Police* more effectual in ſome reſpects than can be admitted amongſt us here, without an eſſential change in

in our conſtitution. But ſuppoſing this to be true, are we to introduce the ſtrictneſs of arbitrary rule, that we may run down a Thief with greater celerity? Shall we try to awe Engliſh ſubjects into moral demeanor with a gang of aſſaſſins, as in Sicily? or with a band of Inquiſitors, as in Portugal? Or ſhall we not rather contrive, as well as may be, to leſſen a partial miſchief, than recur to what would prove an univerſal calamity? Provided that the honeſt part of us may but ſleep quietly in their beds, purſue their buſineſs, and ſuffer no violence nor wrong, it is by no means their deſire that any one ſhould be brought to the Gallows. Pity even reſtrains us in many inſtances from becoming Proſecutors, where public juſtice ſeems to demand it of us; and we hold the very name of *Informer* in the rankeſt diſgrace. But as the unviolated enjoyment of life and property conſtitutes a main branch of that Compact we are ſo anxious to defend and preſerve, it would hardly be conſiſtent with this principle, ſhould we allow them to be invaded either by abandoned individuals, or profligate rulers, without exemplary retribution; and could tranſgreſſors be expelled our Society, or ſecured in ſuch a manner as to prevent a repetition of their offences, the community of good citizens would wiſh no more; for, humbly copying the divine predilection for mercy, they "deſire "not the *death* of a ſinner, but rather that he "ſhould turn from his wickedneſs and live." An evil indeed there is, and we are contented to bear with

with it, in obedience to a maxim which governs our judicial proceedings: "It is better that "ninety-nine guilty perſons eſcape, than one in-"nocent ſuffer." This lenity has opened the door to a multitude of ſuch eſcapes. In favour of real innocence, we are thus indulgent to even real criminals; no one however is to be deemed criminal amongſt us, before a regular Trial has proved him ſuch. The magiſtrate, who preſides at the hearing, is not *judge and party* as in other countries, but ever is to conſider himſelf as an advocate for the Culprit at the bar, preſuming and defending his innocence until ſuch proofs be alledged of the contrary as compel the belief of his guilt: This, with the rights of excepting againſt a certain number of the Jury, of pleading Errors in the Indictment, or Incompetency in the witneſſes, are advantages in the hands of every accuſed perſon, which nothing but our humanity and our freedom could have conferred. It is from the ſame noble ſources, that the horrid practice of extorting confeſſions, and puniſhing by torture, are utterly exploded here. If many criminals ſuffer death, their conviction is by a fair Trial; and the death they ſuffer is not inflicted with Cruelty. Theſe improvements in our penal Law, we owe to the democratic ſhare we poſſeſs in legiſlation; and Laws cannot well be ſtamped with inhumanity, where they who make them may be the firſt to incur their ſeverity. The moſt rigorous, perhaps, in our code, are thoſe enacted for the

puniſhment

puniſhment of Treaſon; for monarchy is timorous in countries that have been ſubject to popular factions, and to frequent revolutions; and timidity ever inclines to be ſevere. In all periods of our hiſtory, it may be obſerved, that, whenever the parliament has, by corruption or other means, been controled by the crown, the penal Statutes, being at ſuch times contrived rather by the crown than the repreſentative body, have been moſt rigorous and bloody; whence is clear what proportion of culpability ſhould be charged upon wicked, weak, or miſguided princes; and what upon the people themſelves. We are juſtified, I think, in believing, that ſuch princes, in any country, and whatever the form of conſtitution, or the character of the people, may be, will never want inſtruments for gratifying their paſſions, however ſavage and inordinate. For in every country may be found a *Jefferies* to promulgate, and a *Kirke* to execute, the moſt ſanguinary will and pleaſure of an unfeeling Sovereign; and even our Parliaments have gone very reprehenſible lengths, whenever the crown has been able to over-awe, to bribe, or to cajole them. We cannot veil the deformity of theſe paſt annals from the glance of Foreigners; they know them too well; but I hope the judicious and impartial among them know likewiſe where to fix the Reproach, and then no blemiſh will be thrown on our National character;—*that Character*, which we lament, has been too often decided upon, from the

the perverſion of the Laws, and the mal-adminiſtration of Government. Nor is it a fairer criterion for judgement, where the Government, being either abſolute, or tending rapidly that way, has infuſed an arbitrary ſpirit into the inferior magiſtrates and miniſters of a country, in order to make them ſubſervient to its Tyranny.

The rule to be ſure is leſs allowable in regard to *Ruſſia* or *Pruſſia*, where the legiſlative and executive powers both con-center in the Sovereign, than in *England*, where the people enjoy a large ſhare in the legiſlative. Yet even in this latter form, the rule is not concluſive; becauſe where the parts of Government are limited, as in this Nation, the rule muſt alſo be ſubject to limitations. It admits of none, where the whole legiſlative power is engroſſed by the people themſelves, as in *Holland*. Except therefore in Governments of the conſtitution laſt-mentioned, the Laws do not furniſh a compleat mirrour of the National character; but I may venture to ſay, that ſo far as unprejudiced ſcrutiny into our Laws can evince, we may rely upon their ſetting our character in the moſt enviable light. It may ſuffer a tranſient eclipſe by the interpoſition now and then of ſome great body; but ſtill its effulgence like that of the ſun is really exiſting, though not viſible to every hemiſphere. An *unſocial reſerve*, for which the Engliſh are ſaid to be remarkable, has afforded another reaſon to foreigners, for accuſing us of Barbarity. They, who are habituated in their own

own territories to eternal grinning and grimace, ſuppoſe our unfortunate gravity to be no other than the reſult of a dark, malevolent, ſurly, diſpoſition. Every ſuperficial examiner of our features adopts the ſame erroneous opinion. A foreigner however of genius and candour, who, by ſpending ſeveral years of his life here, was enabled to penetrate a greater depth into the ſtructure of our ſouls, had the courage to affirm, that, "of all places in the world, *England* was "the country to *think* in." *Monſ. Groſley* and others, not conſidering, that when the faculties of a man are abſorbed in *Thought*, he is generally inclined to hold his tongue, aſcribe our taciturnity, not to the internal buſineſs upon which our mind is ſo intenſely occupied, but to an hebetude of imagination, a downright abſence, or vacuity, of ideas; and he pretends that we are thus ſtupified, and deprived of all vivacious perception, by the foggineſs of our atmoſphere, the groſſneſs of our diet, and heavineſs of malt liquors and *Port-wine*. But I ſet very little value upon this gentleman's notions, becauſe I detect him ſoon afterwards in the very fact of extolling the virtues, and recommending to us the undutied importation of *French wines*; which he inſinuates, would inſpire us all with the true *Gaietie du cœur*, and prove the beſt antidote in the world for our *Fogs* and our *Suicides*. Say you ſo *Monſieur Groſley*? We ſhall beg leave however to *think* again and

again

again about your preſcription, before we ſwallow it.

We ſhall fairly acknowledge, *Monſieur*, that the major part of us Engliſhmen have a certain *ſhyneſs* towards foreigners. You impute this to moroſeneſs of temper. We trace it from a variety of very different cauſes, and in particular the following; as for example, ancient prejudices derived from our continual wars with France and Spain; the high conceit we entertain of our iſland; its beauty, its fertility, and importance; the preference we aſſign to it above other parts of Europe; this preference, ſtrengthened by the freedom of our conſtitution; and the idea of our enjoying a greater heritage of juſt liberty, than any other people under Heaven. Mixed with this preſumption, is a jealouſy ariſing from the view of our navigation, commerce, and manufactures; which, conſidered as the donors of our wealth, power, and proſperity, we are ever watchful to ſupport; *ſelf-intereſt*, keenly circumſpect, graſping, and wary, adviſes us even to preclude other States, as much as poſſible, from growing and thriving too faſt by the ſame means, for fear leſt they ſhould attain to a ſuperiority over us. Theſe overweening maxims (the excreſcence of commercial avarice perhaps) have been ſtill more deeply inſtilled into us by a great multitude of Statutes, coercing the Trade of our Iriſh and Colonial fellow-ſubjects, impoſing duties, prohibitions, and reſtrictions upon foreign commodities and ſhipping;

ping; and (till modern times) rendering it difficult for *aliens* to be incorporated with us in the ſame Society. I might add, the national hatred of Popery, from the bitter remembrance of its perſecuting ſpirit. *Slavery* and *Popery* are regarded by moſt of us as indiviſible companions; and theſe two, together with the *Pretender*, form the triple-headed Bugbear, which our miniſters of State have often brought forward on their political ſtage, to work upon the fears of the nation, and terrify the Country-gentlemen into the ready grant of *Supplies*; the infectious panic circulates to the mob, and they burn paſte-board popes and pretenders, with almoſt as much ſatisfaction, as the Inquiſitors of Portugal enjoy in roaſting a Family of Jews. Prejudices therefore from ſuch ſprings may be accounted for without ſeeking further. What moſt aſtoniſhes us, is, that on peeping abroad, we behold ſuch prodigal encouragement given to Friſſeurs, Valets, Cooks, Conjurors, Quack-doctors, Fencing-maſters, Academy-keepers, Opera-ſingers, Dancers, and Fidlers, as would almoſt incline one to think, that we are fonder of foreigners than of our own countrymen. But notwithſtanding this appearance of Partiality, which perhaps is rather the offspring of Whim than Sentiment, it is moſt certain that our vulgar ranks of people indulge their merriment on every opportunity at the expence of Strangers, and more particularly *Frenchmen*; indeed ſo little do they diſtinguiſh, that every foreigner almoſt is

dubbed with the common title of *Monſieur*, which (by the way) ſhews their prejudice is chiefly directed by the old grudges I have been ſpeaking of againſt the *French nation*. One of theſe ſtrangers, not comprehending how his pariſian finery can poſſibly be the topic of ridicule, is more inclined to believe it the regular cuſtom of our mob, to inſult the *perſons* of all foreigners whatever. It muſt be confeſſed, that the common people inhabiting moſt of our great towns, are extremely deficient in the exterior poliſh and *Graces* of behaviour. Nor is their Language more *courtly*. Nevertheleſs, we are almoſt ſure, that any man, whether foreigner or native, may quietly walk the ſtreets of London at midday, unhonoured with mobbiſh notice, if there be nothing of ſingularity in his dreſs, his figure, or deportment, to catch the paſſing Eye. But if the Gentleman has any thing about him to attract ridiculous notice, he may very ſoon have a *Levee* at his heels; and he muſt count upon becoming the butt of their Witticiſms. If he be a man of ſenſe, he will walk on, and laugh with them. This will give him the name among them of an *honeſt cock*, a *hearty fellow*, a *jolly dog*, *et cætera*, and he may depend on having the protection of the majority. But if his pride or vanity ſhould prompt him to any expreſſions, or geſtures of anger, which ſerve only to render his figure ſtill more groteſque, they will provoke louder peals of laughter, and ſeverer jokes. If, after all this, he is weak enough to loſe all command of his temper,

temper, their *fun* will have attained its higheſt pinnacle; but if he proceeds to menaces, or to offenſive action, they will ſoon convince him, how neceſſary it is for thoſe men who wiſh their Appearance to beſpeak a liberal Education and Fortune, to guard their paſſions "*at all times, and in all places*;" and to reſpect other men, as their equals, at leaſt in ſtrength of body, though not in ſpruceneſs of apparel.

On theſe occaſions, the generoſity of my Countrymen is very conſpicuous, for no ſooner they obſerve that their *wit* has provoked a degree of reſentment, which they never intended it ſhould, than they are ever ready to offer ſatisfaction, in their own manly way (that is) not with ſword and piſtol, but with fiſts, which are always *neareſt at hand*, and not ſo apt to do miſchief. They ſeldom reject a challenge of this ſort; and, if the Gentleman happens to be an adept in the ſcience of bruiſing, and comes off conqueror, he has gained all their hearts from that moment. Laviſh in applauding that muſcular ſtrength, and that agility, which they eſteem among themſelves as a teſtimony of manhood, they will ever after be as happy to fight *for*, as they were before to fight, *with* him. But Foplings, *Macaronis*, and thoſe puny men of letters, whoſe ſedentary life, or feminine manners, have enervated their limbs, and inflated their minds with, I-know-not-what, high notions of ſelf-importance, being incapable of terminating their Fury in this plain, old Engliſh

method, are ever ready to vent it, by opprobrious ſpeeches and writings; which, that their revenge may be compleater, are levelled not only againſt the draymen and apprentices, by whom they were affronted, but againſt the whole nation, our laws, and our government; abuſing us in the lump for neglecting to provide a *patrol* to guard ſuch reſpectable perſonages from vulgar inſult. Our common people, eſpecially in the Towns, are not ſo ignorant as to pay adoration to a finical ſuit of clothes. There are few of them but have met with occaſions for remarking, that Lace and Embroidery more often ſerve to diſguiſe an impoſtor, than adorn the Man of Rank. Foreigners, who by living under arbitrary Governments, (which ſeldom admit of more than two claſſes, of People, Nobility and Peaſants, or *Bourgeois*) are uſed to exact moſt abject, ſneaking ſervility from their inferiors; grow, in general, inordinately fond of this proſtration; and their vanity ſuffers from being diſappointed of it (for the firſt time perhaps in their lives) on coming into this Free Country, where the familiar addreſs of the people, creates in them the ſtrongeſt diſguſt. Not a few of our own travelled Gentry become inſpired with the ſame haughty conceit, after undergoing a long courſe of adulation in their *tours* abroad. Both theſe parties agree in paſſing verdict on the Engliſh of the lower orders, and pronounce them the *Canaille*; which, in familiar tranſlation, is as much as to ſay, *the Scum of the Earth*. The effuſions of cordial

dial ſimplicity, and honeſt frankneſs, are called, the *abuſes of Liberty*. Others, of theſe *cognoſcenti*, willing upon every occaſion to expatiate on the preference due to abſolute monarchy, and ſhew how uſeful it is in breaking the manly ſpirit of a people, deduce our unpoliſhed manners from a political ſource. They condemn them as an Evil, attendant upon a free form of Government; they aſcribe them to that conſciouſneſs of independency which freemen are ſenſible of, in a Country where the loweſt Subject is protected by the laws from oppreſſion of his Superiors; and they are abſurd enough to call this by the name of a *levelling Spirit*, or a deſire of reducing every ſubject in the ſtate to the ſame uniform equality of fortune, rank, and power; not reflecting, that it is folly to ſuppoſe ſuch a ſpirit can ever prevail in this nation ſo long as the freedom of its conſtitution exiſts; for this levelling principle is born, and ſpreads in thoſe countries alone, where feudal Lords are proprietors of all the Land, and an indigent commonalty groan beneath the monopoly; where a ſet of Tyrants, comparatively few in number, protected, careſſed, and ſqueezed in their turn by the Sovereign, inſult over, and grind, a numerous body of laborious vaſſals; and where the latter, meaſuring the vaſt diſtance between them and their oppreſſors, very naturally wiſh to make that property a common right, which has been hitherto engroſſed by a diminutive tribe of their countrymen. In England formerly, the Monarch, the

Barons, and the Eccleſiaſtics, impropriated all the lands in the Kingdom. It was fortunate for the common people, that this maſs of territory veſted in three Lordſhips inſtead of One. The ambition of each party, to augment his power at the expence of the other two, produced inceſſant and terrible conflicts. The Commons chearfully lent their aid to ſupport this variance, and found themſelves acceptable allies to all the three. By breaking this tripartite power in pieces, it was reaſonable to expect, that ſome of it muſt fall, in the general ſcramble, to the lot of thoſe who had hitherto enjoyed none. The event correſponded with their expectations. The violent ſtruggles between the three contending parties terminated moſt advantageouſly for their Retainers and Dependants, not in a coalition of power, but in a diſperſion of property. Trade and commerce gave a finiſhing blow to the conteſt; and the monied-intereſt formed a counterpoiſe to the landed. Nothing, that I can recollect, of a levelling ſpirit, appears in the range of our Hiſtory, except in two or three very imperfect examples; and nothing but antecedent Tyranny in Adminiſtration gave birth to it even in theſe. The firſt that occurs is, the inſurrection headed by *Wat Tyler* and *Jack Straw*, in the reign of Richard IId, occaſioned by an oppreſſive *Poll Tax*. The next happened in the time of Edward VI, conducted by *Ket* the tanner, in conſequence of the *reformation*, introduced with a ſtrong hand by the regent

regent Somerſet; who, having aboliſhed the Roman ritual and monaſtic inſtitutions, ſuddenly lowered the price of labour all over the kingdom, by uncloiſtering and turning adrift the whole collection of monks, and other uſeleſs Eccleſiaſtics, whoſe reſentments led them to ſtir up, and inflame the public diſcontents into open ſedition. After the overthrow of monarchy, by the decollation of *Charles* I. the people ſeemed to vie with one another in agitating innovations of ſeveral kinds, religious and political. The Tribe, entitled *independants*, being the moſt numerous, disbanded the houſe of Lords, and erected a new Tyranny of their own. The ſect called *Levellers*, who apparently had no other view than to pull down the Independants in order to found a pure republic, were treated almoſt as inimical to their deſigns as the Royaliſts had been. The Levellers however included no great part of the commonalty. A truly levelling principle, I conceive, could never be embraced here to any great extent. It is againſt all reaſon to ſuppoſe it can thrive under the modern ſtate of our Kingdom. The momentous ſhare which the people hold in legiſlative and judicial matters, as Electors, Senators, and Jurors, neceſſarily tends to ſplit the body of the nation into parties or factions. The maſs of our conventional wealth is unqueſtionably in the hands of commoners, or that middle claſs of independant yeomanry, merchants, and traders, between whom and the nobility there is a conſtantly free and

amicable intercourſe; ſo that each are brought by theſe means to ſtand upon the ſame ground in moſt, if not every reſpect, excepting the diſtinctions of rank, and dignity of public Employment; which, both ſides are zealous to ſupport, for the ſake of preſerving the Conſtitution, and the National Grandeur entire in all their members.

Our general liberty, which, when not incroached upon, is the ſource of happineſs to the meaneſt ſubject among us, is likewiſe the ſureſt pledge, of our remaining peaceable and contented in our reſpective ſtations. Such will be our ſentiments and our behaviour, till oppreſſion ſhall gall and ſtimulate us into ſelf-defence: In ſuch a *criſis*, perhaps no people would be more irritable. At preſent, the only Levellers I know of among our fellow-ſubjects, are the *Iriſh White Boys*; who, we are told, have *levelled* thoſe encloſures which deprived them of *commonage*.

I have ever conſidered the following ſtanza of the *millar's ſong* to be the trueſt deſcription poſſible of our common people in general:

How *happy* a ſtate does the *millar* poſſeſs,
Who *would be no greater*, nor *fears to be leſs*.

Having now diſcuſſed, in a ſummary way, the main objections that have been alledged againſt our character, I ſhall, with equal conciſeneſs, bring into view, a few, out of innumerable circumſtances,

ſtances, which ſhall illuſtrate our pretenſions to humanity.

There is no other country in Europe, I believe, where appears ſuch unlimited attention to relieve the miſeries incident to human nature. The countleſs multitude of Poor-houſes, Hoſpitals, Infirmaries, Aſylums, and other Inſtitutions, under a great variety of deſcription, to be ſeen in London and its Environs, and in almoſt every other City, Town, and even Village throughout the Kingdom, are ſtanding, undeniable monuments, which continually meet our eyes, and afford plain conviction of that ſpontaneous benevolence which warms an Engliſhman's heart towards his fellow-creatures. Is there a diſtemper, or a calamity, almoſt to be named, that has not a reſource provided againſt it, for the widow, the orphan, the pauper, and the helpleſs, in ſome or other of theſe ſanctuaries? Of theſe, ſome are of royal foundation; others, national or parliamentary; the reſt, or major part, inſtituted and maintained, by the voluntary bequeſts, or donations, of private individuals; and as the days of ſuperſtition have been for ſome time reſcinded in this country, to what motive can any Foreigner aſcribe this profuſion of bounties, unleſs, to the Generoſity of our Temper? Perhaps, the Largeſs, in ſome few inſtances, may be deemed rather ambiguous in its fountain, and to have flowed from caprice or oſtentation, rather than ſincere charity. A few may poſſibly

poſſibly come under this diſparagement; but the exceptions encircle too ſmall a number to deſtroy the force of that inference, which muſt be drawn from ſo expanſive a diſplay, of our compaſſion for the infelicities of mankind. If we add to theſe, the contributions annually levied for ſupport of our parochial poor, the whole expenditure, I am told, is not leſs than three millions of pounds ſterling *per annum*. Our very animals, our horſes, dogs, and cats, participate our bounty. We ſeem to proſecute the exerciſe of it to a degree that borders upon Enthuſiaſm, and is unparalleled by any people upon earth, except ſome *Bonzes* in the Eaſt, I have read of, who build receptacles for apes and monkeys, and furniſh them with regular daily ſupplies of proviſion. Is there a ſtreet or a road which does not ſwarm with beggars? Theſe itinerants find it ſo lucrative a profeſſion, that it is paſt the power of the magiſtrate to deter them from it. Our hearts, our purſes, are ever open to alleviate the diſtreſſes of *man*, in every form, whether real or counterfeited. If this be a proof of our opulence, or of our *weakneſs*, it is no leſs ſo of our philanthropy.

The caſe of *impriſoned debtors* ſeems here to offer itſelf readily to our notice. In this country, engaged as it is in ſo vaſt a ſcene of navigation and merchandize with all the world, where manufactures are carried on to ſo prodigious a latitude, and credit ſo proſtituted to every man's ſolicitation, there

there muſt needs be a very great multitude of adventurers in the different branches of this ſtupendous machinery, who by idleneſs, by misfortune, by extravagance, or knavery, become *Inſolvent*. In the reſtraint impoſed on their bodies, I ſee nothing to diſcriminate their caſe, from that of debtors in all other commercial countries. Under the Jewiſh diſpenſation, from which the civil law has borrowed moſt of its pandects, their caſe would have been much ſeverer; they would not only be in dureſſe, but in actual ſlavery. But even to theſe men, by whoſe diſhoneſty or diſſipation perhaps, the family of an induſtrious creditor, whoſe kindneſs and confidence have been abuſed, is often reduced to beggary, our laws affecting Debtors are peculiarly mild; and endeavours have been, and are every year, applied, by the benevolence of our legiſlature, to render them ſtill more ſo, as far as may poſſibly conſiſt with the general good. If through ill obſervance of any regulations by theſe laws preſcribed, ſome hardſhips are now and then ſuſtained by an unfortunate Debtor, it is the fault of thoſe officers who are entruſted with the executive powers. In all other reſpects, our common deſire to alleviate the griefs of the *honeſt* priſoner, is expreſſed in various ways. By private and public collections, for redeeming him; not unfrequently, by the compaſſion of the Creditor himſelf, if his circumſtances admit of it. Still, however, I acknowledge, that it is a manifeſt impolicy

policy to ſuffer, if poſſibly it can be obviated or avoided, the confinement of ſo many members of our Society, moſt part of whom are artiſans; and to keep them ſhut up, and excluded not only from the natural benefits of free air and ſunſhine, but from all thoſe uſeful purpoſes which their hands are capable of executing, were they ſet at liberty. It is, truly, much to be regretted, that hitherto the wiſeſt heads among us have not been able to contrive any expedient, either to limit the contracting of debts, or give the creditor ſome better remedy in exchange, than that of *walling up* his debtor's perſon, without hazarding the decay of commerce, and *neceſſary* credit; for a degree of credit, I conceive to be neceſſary in every commercial ſtate. There is not a man of us, I am perſuaded (ſome few *Iſraelites* excepted) but will heartily rejoice, whenever a plan ſhall be ſtruck out for an alteration in this very important matter; which may ſave all due rights to the creditor, without depriving the nation of the workmanſhip, and the emoluments to be gained from ſuch a numerous, and valuable body of people.

It is ſuperfluous to treſpaſs further on the Reader's time, by adducing proofs, to ſhew how often and unmeaſurably, individuals among us, ſuffer for their good nature; I wiſh too, it were not too often the caſe with us in our public or political capacity. It has already been obſerved, I think, that the adminiſtrators of Government are truſted with

with the cuſtody of the national character. This is likewiſe confined occaſionally to the ſubordinate officers and miniſters holding public truſts; ſuch as Secretaries of State, Embaſſadors, Generals, Admirals, and the like. All theſe are ſtill more bound than inferior individuals to ſuſtain this character; to commit no action, in their own or in foreign countries, which may tend to the diminution of that reſpect, which the body of the nation have acquired, and are ſolicitous to keep unſullied. A few examples will ſuffice for illuſtration.

Edward (ſurnamed the *black prince*) ſupported it in the moſt brilliant manner when he treated his royal Captive, *John* of *France*, more like a Father than a priſoner of war.

The Government, in *George the Second's* reign, diſplayed it, when, after defeating the *Pretender's* adherents at *Culloden*, mercy reſcued thouſands of inveterate foes from periſhing by the Bayonet or the *Cord*. Inſtead of exterminating the *inſurgents* (as *Smollet* politely calls them) by a promiſcuous carnage of men, women, and children, it ſtrove by lenity to conciliate their good behaviour: It civilized their country and their manners; encouraged induſtry; guided them to freedom, to commerce, to affluence; and promoted, in every practicable line, the welfare of the mutinous inhabitants.

Admiral Blake was not leſs tenacious of it, when, in the port of *Liſbon*, he cauſed an inſolent Portugueſe

tugueſe friar to be delivered up to his mercy; and whom, after having him entirely in his power, he ſet aſhore again unhurt and unchaſtized.

The glorious *Duke of Cumberland* ſhewed no leſs attention to it in the anecdote which I quoted from Mr. *Voltaire*.

Nor was *Commodore Anſon* leſs obſervant, when he refuſed to pay Duties for the liberty of anchoring a Britiſh man of war in the Port of *Canton*. When miniſters have appeared regardleſs of this ſacred character; the people, from a jealouſy and ſpirit peculiar to virtuous minds, have taken the cauſe of vindicating it into their own hands. Of this, the Engliſh ſhewed a memorable inſtance in the laſt war, by their liberal contributions to relieve the *French* priſoners. Not inferior to this is the recent example of their ſeaſonable bounty afforded to the *American Priſoners*. Never perhaps did it happen before in any country, that ſo large a Sum as £. 4,000, and upwards, was raiſed by voluntary ſubſcription for ſuch a purpoſe in the ſhort ſpace of a few weeks; or that the ſtream of charity ſhould pour in with ſo plentiful and exuberant a current, as even to ſurpaſs the very wants and deſires of the diſtreſſed petitioners. This noble benefaction alone would be ſufficient, to convince every unprejudiced foreigner, how unjuſtly the people of England have been branded with a want of thoſe generous feelings, which in fact and truth are the Engliſhman's boaſt, his pride, and his ornament. Among the liſt of ſubſcribers are doubtleſs

leſs ſome, whoſe political opinions have led them to condemn the reſolute ſtand, which the Americans have made againſt the power of our preſent Rulers. There may be many among them who believe, that the Americans are a *deluded* people; but then they have reflected, that every *deluded* man is rather deſerving of our pity, than our vengeance; ſo that their reſentments nobly yielding to the emotions of manly commiſeration, with the magnanimity of true Engliſhmen, they ſhook hands with their proſtrate antagoniſt, and by their generoſity perſuaded him to become their friend. They wiped the tear from the cheek of the captive, languiſhing here in a dungeon, remote from his wife, his children, and all that he held dear. They protected his ſhivering limbs from the inclemencies of Winter; refreſhed his famiſhed body with wholeſome nutriment; mitigated his anguiſh, and adminiſtered other comforts of life, which might cheer his ſolitude, and render his loſs of liberty leſs inſupportable; fulfilling thoſe truly *chriſtian duties*, to the obſervance of which *we are all* from the higheſt to the loweſt enjoined. To theſe benefactors the grateful heart ſhall ſay, "I was an "*hungred*, and ye gave me *meat*; I was *thirſty*, "and ye gave me *drink*; *naked*, and ye *cloathed* "me; *ſick*, and ye *viſited* me; I was in *priſon*, "and ye came unto me." And beſides the applauſe of their own conſciences, they have entitled themſelves to the divine benediction ſo graciouſly pronounced, "*Come, ye bleſſed of my Father*, inherit "the

" the kingdom prepared for you from the foun-
" dation of the world." Such is the promiſed re-
compence of *charity*, which, pardoning the errors of our fellow creatures, and eſteeming the conqueſt of our * paſſions and prejudices, as the moſt glorious of all victories, can thus delight itſelf with pouring balm into the wounds of an enemy. It may be thought preſumption, ſhould we recommend the foregoing paſſage in Scripture, to the notice of ſeveral Right Reverend Perſonages: We know how copiouſly, how extravagantly, they abound, with the milk of human kindneſs, and brotherly love; and there can be no queſtion of their earneſt longings after a good inheritance in the celeſtial Kingdom juſt mentioned. Still, it is wonderful, that the *Chriſtian* Biſhop of *St. Aſaph* ſhould have come to this Alms-giving, unattended by his Brethren. Was he proxy for all the reſt upon this occaſion? Or were the purſes of theſe holy men, at ſuch a pinching ſeaſon of the year, ſo munificently evacuated in their reſpective Dioceſes, as entirely to have drained them? Took they no thought, " What theſe wretched captives
" ſhould eat, nor what they ſhould drink, nor
" wherewithal they ſhould be cloathed?" I am weary of conjectures; but I ſhall not heſitate to ſay, that the thanks of every Engliſhman, whe-

* Of theſe paſſions and prejudices we might juſtly, and without any *emphatic barbariſm* ſay, " *Kill them, or they*
" *will kill us.*"

ther

ther Whig or Tory, Epiſcopalian or Diſſenter, are juſtly due to the contributors, whoſe ready and well-timed benefaction retrieved us from ſcandals of ſuch a dye, as might have rendered our very name hateful to the reſt of the world. As lovers of our Country, we ſhould have wiſhed, that the *Anti-American* partizans, had been careful to enrol *their* names in the catalogue, at *full length*; for in its preſent anonymous ſtate, ſome impertinent foreigners, may be apt to ſcout the vaunted freedom we enjoy, and exclaim, "What kind of "Government muſt that be, where men ſeem "*afraid* to do a *charitable action*; or, after doing "it, to let it be publickly known!" As to the reſt, I ſhould have been much happier, had there been no *neceſſity* for engaging *negroe ſervants* to butcher their maſters; nor for *ſtretching* forth *Cannibal Indians* to ſcalp, tomahawk, and torture, with undiſtinguiſhing fury. Well pleaſed ſhould I have been, had there exiſted no *neceſſity* for hiring thoſe very *expert* and *approved markſmen*, ſo famous in *Germany* for their unerring ſhot. Nor thoſe other *well-diſciplined* cut-throats, who are rented out to hack and hew in any cauſe, or in any country; whoſe pay is, the ſpoil they can ſeize; and whoſe occupation it is, to ſtab, burn, rob, and ravage, without remorſe. Of theſe men we cannot well ſay, as the Dutch did of Count *Mansfield's* hirelings, that they are "*boni in aux-*"*ilio*;" but we may agree, as to the other part of the ſaying, that they are "*cariſſimi in pretio!*" I

pray there may be no cauſe to fear, that any black-roll will ever be tranſmitted, of *wanton* conflagrations, killings in cool blood, rapes, torturings, rapines, and devaſtations; nor that the ears of an Engliſhman may ever tingle with ſhame, to hear the judgement, which the other Nations of Europe ſhall be pleaſed to paſs upon us.

I truſt, that, if any outrages have been acted on American ground, beyond what are fatally common in all wars, the odium will not be found to preſs againſt our *national forces*; and I think I may congratulate my Countrymen, that, in ſpight of our Indian Alliances, we ſhall never be cannibalized ſo far, as to regale our ſoldiers with the fleſh of a barbecued *American* for their dinner, though famine ſhould ſtare them in the face. It is not for *them*

——— to banquet on the wretch they ſlew,
Devour the Corps, and lick the blood they drew:
Ne'er be it ſaid, that *Engliſhmen* delight
In Feaſts like theſe, that Famine's ſelf would fright *.

* No Profeſſion is more truly honourable than that of a Military man, aſſerting and defending his Country's Freedom. Nay, even when *employed* to deſtroy what he ought to protect, we cannot but in juſtice withdraw a great part of our odium from the Soldier, and pin it according to *Mr. Voltaire's* advice) "Upon thoſe ſedentary and "ſlothful Barbarians; who, from their cloſe-ſtools, give orders for murdering a million of men, and then——*ſolemnly thank GOD for their Succeſs!*"

If

If any miniſter has been baſe enough to enjoin the execution of inhuman orders, *we* ſhall not alledge, in his juſtification, that ſuch are the inſtruments, or ſuch the means, which *God and nature* have put into his hands for reclaiming of *deluded* fellow-ſubjects. For it never can be true, nor can we believe, that the all-wiſe, all-benevolent *Being*, who formed mankind for uſeful purpoſes, has authorized any Miniſter of State to deſtroy and extirpate them; or that he can patronize the refinements and exceſſes of vindictive and inexorable cruelty. For if it were ſo, we are ſure the Stateſman's Deity, cannot be the ſame Deity whom Chriſtians adore; who "hateth nothing that he hath "made;" who has not entruſted us with Free-agency, for purpoſes running ſo directly counter to his viſible ordinance. To ſay, that, in diminiſhing the number of our fellow-creatures, we are but performing the will and deſign of God in his creation of the world, is moſt *impious blaſphemy*. And, whatever the Syſtems of Reptile Stateſmen may be, God will ſurely never ſuffer with patience, the ſyſtem of his own Government, to be thwarted by their domineering audacity. The event of all human efforts is ſubject to the abſolute control of his irreſiſtible Providence. Where are now the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman*, power and ſplendor, to kindle whoſe tranſitory blaze, ſo many pompous expeditions were planned and undertaken, battles fought, towns laid in aſhes, and legions ſacrificed! How little have availed all thoſe ſage councils

and lofty projects, that magnitude of preparation, or that immenſity of toil, for acquiring and accumulating Empire upon Empire! How futile too the proud idea of having ſecured its ſtability?

The wickedneſs of committing ſuch barbarous havock, and to attain ſuch viſionary benefits, has been followed by a change ſo humiliating, that the poſterity of theſe boaſtful conquerors of the world, are *at this day* ſunk even below contempt. Hard perhaps it may ſeem, that in theſe *ſtriking* examples, *the ſin of the Fathers has been ſo dreadfully viſited upon their children!* But it is a ſerious leſſon, and a pointed one; enough to ſtagger the boldeſt *Cabinet council*; to make ambition pauſe in its wild career, and ſuſpend its unnatural machinations. One might be apt to think, that ſuch is the ordinary courſe of divine Juſtice, where the whole body of a Nation, making themſelves accomplices in ſo much arrogant iniquity, draw down ignominious ruin, inſtead of laſting beatitude upon their own deſcendants. But whatever be the rule by which Heaven chaſtizes National preſumption, we may venture humbly to imagine, that if part of a community diſavows and deteſts ſuch criminal proceedings, ſuch part at leaſt may reaſonably hope, to ſtand acquitted of all guilt on that account, in the judgement of God and man; and that ſlander itſelf will not involve it, with the patrons and abettors of *Wanton Homicide*.

There is nothing more true perhaps than the remark, that a free Government contains within itſelf the

the ſeeds of its own diſſolution: But what are theſe ſeeds? In *England*, they are the reſtleſs, inceſſant efforts, of thoſe unworthy citizens among us, who have an inſuperable love for deſpotic Government; or an inſatiable luſt for ſharing in its power, or its plunder; or who having by their profuſion and their vices, grown ſo poor in ſpirit, as to ſubſiſt by beggary and proſtitution, contract a rivetted malevolence towards their independant countrymen; and, like other proſtitutes, would drag them, if poſſible, down to the ſame low level of infamy. Theſe concur to form that erratic diſtemper, which attacks us by fits and ſtarts, ever aiming at our heart, though ſtill unable to reach it ſo long as any ſtrength of conſtitution remains. The Advocate for abſolute Monarchy is equally a foe to public Spirit, and to human Nature; he would tear up Public Spirit by the roots, becauſe it ſtands in the way to oppoſe his progreſs; and he would chearfully ſlaughter one half of our ſpecies, in order to obtain the dominion he ſighs for over the other half. The rancour of his principles inflames him into ſavage fury; and indicates the perfect ſimilitude of Feature, ſubſiſting between political and religious Bigotry; for both are equally intemperate, vengeful, ravenous, inhuman, and implacable. In the decline therefore of *Public Spirit*, and when by a ſeries of corruption, ſenſuality, and indolence, *Public Virtue* is nearly eraſed; then is the *National Character* too in the utmoſt danger of being obliterated. For ſhould the Conſtitution

at

at length give way to its aſſailants, *that Character* muſt inevitably periſh with it; and the loſs of *Engliſh Freedom*, will be quickly followed by the utter abolition of *Engliſh Humanity*.

One would think that *twelve millions* * of individuals, which I ſuppoſe to be nearly the preſent number of Engliſh ſubjects (including the colonies planted in Aſia and America), could ſcarcely grow ſo enamoured of an arbitrary government, as to give it a preference to that excellent and well-poiſed frame, which has hitherto maintained our reputation, and raiſed us to ſuch diſtinguiſhing ſignificance in the world. I take this to be a kind of *Political impoſſibility*; a Rebellion againſt common ſenſe; ſo long as we enjoy *Freedom of the preſs*, and the fair meaſure our conſtitution has granted us of *Legiſlative* and *Judicial* powers. It is indeed hardly poſſible, that ſo many millions, conſcious of the value they poſſeſs, ſhould ſuffer two or three hundred of their countrymen to overſet this juſt Equilibrium of power, by either yielding up a part of it, or claiming more than belongs to them, in order to place it in the hands of their Sovereign. *Judges* may endeavour to muzzle the *preſs*, but they cannot entirely ſilence it, without the aſſiſtance of *Parliament*. Its more formidable enemies, and againſt whom we ought eſpecially to be guarded, are thoſe ſubtle wretches, who, by making the Preſs a daily vehicle for envenomed

* I doubt, we muſt ſoon begin to *diſcount* a few millions from this number!

falſhood,

falſhood, and inſufferable calumny, are trying all in their power to have it adjudged, by the public voice, a *public nuiſance*. But, to perceive the drift of theſe artifices, is to diſarm them; and againſt illegal publications, there lies a ready appeal to our Laws. *Electors* may be venal, and *Parliaments* debauched; but, while the body of the people contiue in their *right ſenſes*, we ſhall ſtill retain a ſolid Phalanx of oppoſition in our *County Repreſentatives*, and the independant part of our nobility: whoſe aſſociated virtue and ſagacity, may long prove too hard for the plots of our domeſtic Traitors. On this diviſion of party, and the wide extent of its influence, the Salvation of our Franchiſes may ſome time or other be found ultimately to depend. Were the three grand branches to unite their federal ſtrength, for the exciſion of Engliſh freedom, our caſe would indeed be deplorable. But were only five Peers, and as many Commoners, remaining in the *two Houſes*, ſteady and undaunted champions for the Conſtitutional Rights of their Countrymen, we ſhould ſtill be far from Deſpondence; for enough, I truſt, of the wiſe, the virtuous, and the brave, would yet exiſt, to co-operate with them in perpetuating thoſe rights, which alone can make *the Character of an Engliſhman* reſpectable to the end of Time.

FINIS.